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PROLEGOMENA TO A GREEK-HEBREW AND HEBREW-GREEK INDEX TO AQUILA

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CHAPTER II

AQUILA'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE HEBREW GRAMMAR AND LEXICON

18. WHEN we speak of Aquila's knowledge of the Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon, it should be understood that we cannot possibly have in mind a systematic treatise of Hebrew grammar or a Hebrew-Greek lexicon ready-made, but rather that empiric and practical acquaintance with grammatical rules and the meanings of words without which no translator could operate at all. At best it may be said of the period antedating the rise of a scientific study of the Hebrew language in the tenth century that grammatical reflexion manifested itself then in a rudimentary way. Thus we find empiric observations in the talmudic literature which, however, do not go very far.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ On the history of grammar, see Steinthal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Logik*, I, 1895, 25 ff.; v. d. Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft, ihre Aufgaben, Methoden und bisherige Ergebnisse*, 1901, 17 ff. The history of Hebrew grammar is treated in full by S. D. Luzzatto, *Prolegomeni ad una grammatica ragionata della lingua ebraica*, 1836, 11-71; Franc. Delitzsch, *שפת ישראל, Isagoge in grammaticam et lexicographiam linguae hebraicae*, 1838; W. Bacher, *Die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft* (vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrh., mit einem einleitenden Abschnitt über die Massora, 1892; specifically the beginnings of Hebrew grammar by Bacher, *Die Anfänge der hebräischen Grammatik*, *ZDMG.*, XLIX, pp. 1 ff. and 335 ff. The grammatical observations of the ancients are summed up by Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebräischen Grammatik im Talmud und Midrasch*, 1879; comp. also Bacher, *Anfänge*, 3-7.

When it is remembered that both Saadya and Menaḥem b. Sarūḳ have quite primitive ideas concerning the nature of Hebrew roots⁷¹ and to what sad consequences of a practical kind these erroneous notions led in Ḳalir's paitānic productions,⁷² it were idle to expect any sounder views from Aquila. Just because Aquila is given to etymologizing,⁷³ the foregone conclusion that he will have exposed himself to the pitfalls of a primitive root theory is verified all too well.

The following examples, which are by no means exhaustive, may serve as an illustration: אָמַט is combined with אָמַט 3 Kings 21. 27 where אָמַט = κεκλιμένος; אָמַר is confused with מִיר Deut. 26. 17 where הָאָמַרְתָּ is rendered ἀντηλλάξω, a word used by α' for הָמַיר Ps. 45 (46). 3; אָנָה with נָא Ps. 90 (91). 10 where μεταχθήσεται = הָאָנָה, comp. μεταάγειν = הָנִיא 32 (33). 10; נִישׁ with יָאֵשׁ Ps. 68 (69). 21 where καὶ ἀπεγνώσθη renders וְנִאֲנִישָׁה, but ἀπογνώσκειν otherwise renders נִוִּישׁ, comp. 1 Kings 27. 1; אָפֶק with פִּוֶק Job 41. 7 where ὑπερέκχυσις = אָפֶק, ὑπερεκχεῖν being used by α' for הִפִּיק Prov. 12. 2 and Isa. 58. 10; נִיר with אָנִיר Deut. 1. 17 where תְּנִיר = κρυψης according to BM, so also Sifre quoted by Rashi and Sanh. 6 b, 7 a: לֹא תִכְנִיף דְּבִיר; הִוִּת with הָוָה Ps. 61 (62). 4 where תְּהוֹתִתִּי = ἐπιβουλεύετε, comp. ἐπιβουλή uniformly = הָוִית; יָנָה with מִנָּה Isa. 51. 23 where מוֹנִיָּה = ἑδαφίζόντων σε, comp. Ps. 45 (46). 7 where ἑδαφίζειν rightly renders מִנָּה; יָחַל with חָלַל Ezek. 19. 5 where נִחְלָה = ἐτρόθη; יָנָה with יָן Jer. 25. 38 (32. 24) where

⁷¹ The trilaterality of Hebrew roots was discovered by Ḥayyuj (end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century) and the theory perfected by Ibn Janah (first half of the eleventh century).

⁷² Comp. Zunz, *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*, p. 121 and particularly Beilage 9, p. 378 ff.

⁷³ See above, § 10.

יִזְהָ is translated by *τεθολωμένη*, 'made turbid, muddy'; יִקְהָ with קִנְהָ Gen. 49. 10 where *σύστημα*, which 1. 10 is used for מִקְנֶה, is the rendering for יִקְהָ; הַפְּרִיָּה = τῇν καταφανήν Gen. 22. 2, apparently from the root פָּרָה; יִשְׁרְהִי = ἐφοδεύσεις αὐτοῦ Job 37. 3 is combined with שִׁיר, so Rashi; מִיר with מִיר Jer. 48 (31). 11 where נִמַּר = ἐπίκρανευ; מִיר with מִיר Ezek. 20. 8 where וַיִּמְרִי is translated by ἡλλαξαν; מִשֶּׁק with שָׁקָה in Gen. 15. 2 where מִשֶּׁק = ποτίζων, an abbreviated מִשְׁקָה; נִצָּז with צִיץ Jer. 48 (31). 9 where נִצָּז = ἀνθοῦσα ἐξελεύσεται; נִצָּה Job 39. 13 is combined with נָן *ἰέραξ* (hawk, falcon); פִּילִי = σκευαστής Isa. 32. 5 combined with פִּלִּי σκεῦος; פִּלָּה with פִּלָּל Ps. 118 (119). 118 where פִּלָּה = ἀπεσκολόπισας, a word used in two places for פִּלָּל, comp. Ps. 67 (68). 5 and Isa. 57. 14; the same confusion is evident Job 28. 16, 19 where פִּסְלָה = ἀναβληθήσεται; פִּעָה with עֵיב Exod. 19. 9 and Isa. 19. 1 where פִּעָה (cloud) is rendered by πάχος (thickness); וַיִּפְרַר = καὶ καρπεύσει Eccles. 12. 5 is combined with פִּרְיָה καρπός; צִבִּי δύναμις Isa. 4. 2 by confusion with צָבָה; on the other hand צָבָה Ezek. 20. 6, 15 is rendered στάσις from נִצָּב (נִצָּב); צִיץ is confounded with צִיץ Prov. 1. 27 where צִיץ = ἐπύχσις; צָאָה = ἐξελθόν Deut. 23. 13 (14) is derived from צָאָה rather than from צָאָה (but perhaps *a'* is in agreement with the intent of the *nikkūḏ*); לְצִיִּים = τοῖς ἐξελευσομένοις with *θ' ε'* and ⑥ to Num. 24. 24 (comp. Barth, *Nominalbildungen*², p. 188 below, also Chajes, *REJ.*, XLIV, p. 226) is likewise derived from צָאָה Ps. 73 (74). 14; צִיר is accommodated to צִיר Jer. 49. 14 (29. 15) where περισχί (which usually = מְצוֹר) stands for צִיר; צָעָה to יָצַע Isa. 63. 1 where צָעָה = καταστρωννύων, a word used Job 12. 23 for שָׁחַח; again Jer. 48 (31). 12 where וַיִּצְעוּ = στρώτας, καὶ στρώσουσιν αὐτόν; רִידָה to רִידָה Hos. 11. 12 (12. 1) where רִידָה = ἐπικρατῶν; רָעָה to רָעָה Ps. 59 (60). 10 where הִתְרָעָה = ἡταιρήσατο, so Rashi; רָעָה to

רָעָה Jer. 15. 12 where הִרְעָה (= *num franget*) is translated by *μη ἀρμόσει*; רָפָה to רָפָא Ps. 45 (46). 11 where הִרְפּוּ = *λάθητε*; on the contrary רָפָא to רָפָה Prov. 15. 4 where מִרְפָּא לְשׁוֹן = *προσηνὴς γλῶσσα*; שָׁנָה to שָׁנָן Deut. 6. 7 where הִשְׁנַנְתָּם is rendered by *δευτερώσεις*, and also 28. 37 where שִׁנְיָהּ = *δευτέρωσις*.⁷⁴

19. Conscious of the various functions belonging to the various conjugations in Hebrew, Aquila endeavoured to differentiate as much as possible between them by using certain types of Greek verbs for certain types of Hebrew verbs. Thus, the pi'el and hiph'il are expressed to a large degree by verbs ending in *-oûn* and *-άζειν, -ίζειν*: הִרְוִיר = *καταβιβάζειν*, קָדַשׁ and הִקְדִּישׁ = *ἀγιάζειν*, נָקַה = *ἀθωοῦν*, הִנְבִּיר = *δυναμοῦν*, שָׁוָה = *ἐξισοῦν*, חִיָּה and הִחִיָּה = *ζωοῦν*, קָצַר = *ἀκουτίσειν*, and הִקְצִיר = *κολοβοῦν*, הִשְׁקָה = *ποτίζειν*, הִשְׁמִיעַ = *ἀκουτίσειν*, הִשְׁנָה = *ἀγνοηματοίσειν*, הִכְשִׁיל = *σκανδαλοῦν*, הִאִיר or הוֹרָה = *φωτίζειν*, שָׁחַר and הִשְׁכִּים = *ὀρθρίζειν*, פָּוַר and הִפִּין = *σκορπίζειν*, יָדַע and הוֹדִיעַ and הִרְאָה = *γνωρίζειν*, &c. Verbs with *-oûn* and *-ίζειν* are less frequently used for the kal, e.g. קָחַן = *δοκιμάζειν*, קָבַב = *κυκλοῦν*, שָׁבָן = *σκηνοῦν*; while the pi'el and hiph'il are sometimes rendered also by ordinary verbs, e.g. שָׁחַת and הִשְׁחִית = *διαφθείρειν*, הִשְׁיִב = *ἐπιστρέφειν*, שָׁפַח = *εὐφραίνειν*, הִכְרִיעַ = *κάμπτειν*. The hiph'il is sometimes rendered also by a combination with *ποιεῖν*, as e.g. הִחֲיוֹק = *ἰσχυροποιεῖν*, הִרְנִין = *αἰνοποιεῖν*, הוֹדִיעַ = *γνωστοῦν ποιεῖν*, הִצְמִית = *ἄφωνον ποιεῖν*. Moreover, verbs with *-ύνειν* are sometimes employed to render the hiph. and more rarely the pi. as, for instance, גָּדַל and הִגְדִּיל = *μεγαλύνειν*, הִיטִיב = *ἀγαθύνειν* and בִּעֲלָטָנִיב, הִרְחִיק = *μακρύνειν*.

⁷⁴ As to the confusion of roots in the Septuagint comp. Frankel, *Vorstudien*, p. 200.

20. Where a Hebrew intransitive verb = a Greek passive verb, the pi'el and hiph'il of the intrans. are rendered by the active of the Greek verb. Thus קָרַךְ = κολοβοῦσθαι, קָרַךְ and הִקְרַץ = κολοβοῦν; שָׁבַע = ἐμπιπλάσθαι, שָׁבַע and הִשְׁבִּיעַ = ἐμπιπλᾶν; נָבַר = δυναμοῦσθαι, הִנְבִּיר = δυναμοῦν; מָבַח = μετεωρίζεσθαι, הִנְבִּיחַ = μετεωρίζειν; אָוַר = φωτίζεισθαι, הָאִיר = φωτίζειν; פָּשַׁל = σκανδαλοῦσθαι, הִכְשִׁיל = σκανδαλοῦν; בָּבַר = βαρύνεσθαι, הִכְבִּיר = βαρύνειν; פָּוַן = διασκορπίζεισθαι, הִפִּיץ = διασκορπίζειν; רָוַם = ὑψοῦσθαι, הִרָוַם = ὑψοῦν; תָּעָה = πλανᾶσθαι, הִתְעָה = πλανᾶν; תָּם = τελειοῦσθαι, הִתָּם = τελειοῦν; מָמַחַ = μιαινεσθαι, מָמַחַ = μιαινείν; שָׁחַ = ἐξισοῦσθαι, הִשָּׁח = ἐξισοῦν; שָׁחַ = εὐφραίνεσθαι, הִשָּׁח = εὐφραίνειν.

21. The passive conjugations are invariably rendered by the Greek passive, the stem remaining the same as in the active, if the active exists. Thus יָדַע = γιγνώσκειν, נִדָּע = γιγνώσκεσθαι; כָּתַב = γράφειν, נִכְתַּב = γράφεσθαι; בָּנָה = οἰκοδομῆν, נִבְנָה = οἰκοδομεῖσθαι; מָלַח = μολύνειν, מָלַח = μολύνεσθαι; הָבַח = πλήσσειν, הִבָּח = πλήσσεσθαι. Where the pass. is found translated by the active it is mostly due to a different vocalization on the part of our translator, as, for instance, Job 28. 15 יָתַן = δώσει presupposes the pointing יָתַן (sbj. הִנְתַּן, so also θ'). On the other hand, there are a few passives construed as actives, but in these instances the whole rendering is paraphrastic. Thus Gen. 30. 8 נִפְתְּלוּי אֶלְלוֹיִם נִפְתְּלָתִי = συναέστρεψέν με ὁ θεὸς συναναστροφῆν; Isa. 26. 3 בָּרַךְ בְּטוֹחַ = ὅτι ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποιθήσιν, unless *a'* read בטוח; Jer. 16. 6 הָלַא יִקְרַח לָהֶם = οὐδ' οὐ μὴ φαλακρώσουσιν αὐτούς; 38 (45). 27 לֹא נִשְׁמַע הָדָבָר = ὅτι οὐκ ἤκουσαν τὸ ῥῆμα. There are likewise some actives rendered passively, thus Lev. 15. 3 הִתְחַתֵּם ('inwardly transitive', GK., § 53 d-g) = ἐσφραγίσθη; Job 5. 5 יִקְרַחוּ = ἀρθήσεται; Ps. 92 (93). 3 יִשָּׁח = ἐπήρθη; Jer. 18. 23 אֶל־תִּתְּמַחִי = μὴ ἐξαλειφθείη; 50 (27). 45

יִסְתַּבְּחוּ יְעֲרִי הַצֹּאן = ἐὰν μὴ συμψησθῶσι τὰ ἐλάχιστα . . . ;
 Ezek. 13. 22 הַכֹּחֹס יַעַן = . . . ἡμανρώθη (implying הַכֹּחֹס).

The hithpa'el is naturally rendered by the active, comp.
 Gen. 5. 22, 24 וַיִּתְּחַלֵּף = καὶ περιεπάτει; Ps. 21 (22). 28 וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶי =
 καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν; Jer. 46 (26). 14 וַיִּתְּחַבֵּב = στῆθι; or the
 middle, comp. Isa. 52. 2 וַיִּתְּחַבֵּב = περίλυσαι; or the passive
 as, for instance, Job 5. 4 וַיִּתְּחַבֵּב = καὶ ἐπιτριβήσονται; Isa. 52. 2
 וַיִּתְּחַבֵּב = ἐκτινάχθητι.

22. Aquila's knowledge of Hebrew syntax could only be gauged fully if we had more continuous texts of his version than we possess now. But even with the limited means at our disposal, considering even the fact that in the fragments preserved, outside the large recently discovered remains, complete sentences and phrases are rather scarce, it is easy to see at a glance that his knowledge of the rules governing the construction of the Hebrew sentence was sound. Of course, we must bear in mind the fact that in individual cases Aquila's exegesis may be at variance with our own. This is proved by the following illustrations:

(a) The Hebrew perfect is largely rendered by the Greek aorist, as, e.g. וַיֵּשֶׁב = ἐκάθισεν, וַיִּבְרַב = ἡγγισεν, וַעֲבְרִי = παρήλθον, וַיִּצְרְחִי = διετήρησα. In a few characteristic passages the Greek perfect takes the place of the aorist: Gen. 1. 29; Ezek. 3. 9 וַיִּתְּחַבֵּב = δέδωκα; Exod. 7. 1 וַיִּתְּחַבֵּב = δέδωκά σε; 1 Kings 9. 24 וַיִּתְּחַבֵּב = κέκληκα; Ps. 30 (31). 23 וַיִּתְּחַבֵּב = ἐξέριμμαι; Jer. 18. 12 וַיִּתְּחַבֵּב = ἀπήλπισται. Sometimes the pluperfect is found, as, for instance, Ps. 24 (25). 2 and 30 (31). 15 where וַיִּתְּחַבֵּב = ἐπεποίθειν. Or the imperfect is used, as Deut. 32. 17 וַיִּתְּחַבֵּב = ἐτριχίω αὐτούς⁷⁵; Ps. 118 (119). 174 וַיִּתְּחַבֵּב = ἐξείχόμενον; Jer. 2. 24 וַיִּתְּחַבֵּב = ἐλκεν; Ezek. 22. 29 וַיִּתְּחַבֵּב = ἐβιάζοντο. When the Hebrew pf. refers

⁷⁵ Aquila combines the verb with וַיִּתְּחַבֵּב θρίξ.

to God and His decree it is properly rendered by the future: Jud. 4. 14 אָצִי (הִיָּה) = ἐξελεύσεται; Ps. 76 (77). 10 חֲשַׁבְהִי = μὴ ἐπιλήσεται. Similarly the future is used to indicate an action the accomplishment of which lies in the future: Job 18. 20 גִּשְׁמוֹ = ἀδημονήσουσιν; 41. 1 גִּבְרָהּ = διαψεύσεται; Prov. 8. 35 אָצִי = εὐρήσει. Abnormal is εἰσάκουσόν μου for אֶנִּי Ps. 21 (22). 22 for which there is a variant εἰσήκουσας based on the Syrohex.⁷⁶ In a conditional clause the pf. is aptly translated by the aor. subj.: Ezek. 3. 18 הִיָּהְרִיתִי = διαστελῇ (supply καὶ μή, in dependence on הָ cum infin.). Examples of the present: Job 24. 5 אָצִי = ἐξέρχονται; 36. 30 שָׁרַשׁ = ἐκπετάζει; Prov. 6. 8 אָנְרָהּ = συστρέφει (gnomic tense); and with reference to God Jer. 10. 7 אָהָהּ = πρέπει (or ἐπιπρέπει). The pf. with ו prefixed is rendered by article cum pt., comp. Eccles. 2. 17 where שָׁנַעְנָעוּ = τὸ ποιούμενον. Similarly, the pf. with אָ preceding: Jer. 7. 1 אָשָׁר־הָיָה = ὁ γεγόμενος; 10. 25 אָשָׁר לֹא־יָדָעוּהָ = ... γνώσκοντα ...; 34 (41). 5 אָשָׁר־הָיוּ = τῶν γενομένων; 52. 15 אָשָׁר נָפְלוּ = τοὺς ἐμπεπτωκότας. The pf. with אָ preceding is translated by the aor. subj. preceded by εἰ, as, e.g. Ps. 40 (41). 7 אָשָׁר־אֶמַּן = (καὶ) εἰ ἄν ἐλθῇ; with בָּ preceding Ps. 18 (19). 4 בָּלִי גִשְׁמָע = οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ. Two asyndetic perfects are brought into subordination: pt. aor. cum pf. aor., as Ps. 9. 24 (10. 3) בָּרַךְ נֶאֱמַן = εὐλογήσας διέσυρε; a similar treatment is given a pf. followed by an impf., comp. Ps. 59 (60). 3 אָנַפְתָּ תְּשׁוּבָב לִנִּי = θυμωθεὶς μετέστρεψας ἡμᾶς, and a pf. followed by an impf. consecutive, comp. Ps. 49 (50). 1 רָפָר וַיִּקְרָא = λαλήσας ἐκάλεσε.

(b) The pf. with ו consecutive is usually expressed by καὶ cum fut., as, for example, הִיָּה = καὶ ἔσται Exod. 26. 6 and elsewhere; (וַיְהִי־וַיִּהְיֶה) (καὶ) διαστελῇ Exod. 18. 20

⁷⁶ Comp. Taylor, *loc. cit.*, p. 29.

(s. Field); Ezek. 3. 17; $\text{קָרָאָם} = \text{καὶ καλέσεις}$ Jer. 7. 27; $\text{וְאָמַרְתָּ} = \text{καὶ ἐρεῖς}$, *ibid.*, 28; $\text{וְסָפְרוּ} = \text{καὶ κόψονται}$ Zech. 12. 10. Sometimes the future is replaced by imp. aor. (praes.), comp. Ps. 24 (25). 11 $\text{וְלָלַתְּ} = \text{καὶ ἰλάσθητι}$; Jer. 29 (36). 12 $\text{וְקָרָאתָם} = \text{καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθε με καὶ πορεύεσθε}$. Or the Hebrew form is conceived as expressing a purpose and so infin. aor. preceded by *τοῦ* is employed—a form which, as will be seen below, is otherwise confined to the inf. with the prefix *ל*—as, e.g., Jer. 38 (45). 10 $\text{וְהָעֲלִיךָ} = \text{τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν}$. When in dependence upon *וְ* cum imperf. (*ὅταν* cum coniunct. aor.) *י* cons. cum perf. is naturally expressed by *καί* cum coniunct. aor., as, for instance, Lev. 5. 15 $\text{וְהָמָאָה . . . בְּיָמֶיךָ} = \text{ὅταν παραβῇ . . . καὶ ἁμάρτη}$. The perf. with *י* consec. in an iterative force becomes in Greek an imperf., comp. 3 Kings 9. 25 $\text{וְהָעֲלִיךָ} = \text{καὶ ἀεβίβαζεν}$. On the other hand, when the Hebrew pf. is joined to a weak *י*, it is expressed correctly by the pf., comp. Jer. 7. 28 $\text{וְנִכְרְתָהּ} = \text{καὶ ἐξήρται}$; we may infer that the preceding וְנִכְרְתָהּ was rendered *ἐκλέλοιπεν*, comp. Mic. 7. 2.

(c) The impf. is generally rendered by the Greek fut., as $\text{וְאָרַע} = \text{γνώσομαι}$, $\text{וְקָרָאתָ} = \text{καλέσω}$, $\text{וְשָׁפַי} = \text{σκηνώσει}$. The aor. is used for the impf. frequentative or iterative: Gen. 2. 6 $\text{וְהָעֲלִיךָ} = \text{ἀνέβη}$; Job 21. 10 $\text{וְהָשִׁיבָה} = \text{ἐδυστόκησεν}$; 30. 12 $\text{וְקָרָאתָ} = \text{ἀνέστησαν}$; 31. 13 $\text{וְהָמָאָה} = \text{ὑπέρριψα}$; Ps. 17 (18). 44 $\text{וְהָעֲלִיךָ} = \text{ἐδούλευσάν μοι}$; 54 (55). 15 $\text{וְהָמָאָה} = \text{ἐγλυκάναμεν}$; 94 (95). 10 $\text{וְהָשִׁיבָה} = \text{δυσσηρεστήθην}$; 102 (103). 7 $\text{וְהָשִׁיבָה} = \text{ἐγνώρισεν}$; 117 (118). 10 $\text{וְהָמָאָה} = \text{ἡμυνάμην}$; Isa. 26. 10 $\text{וְהָשִׁיבָה} = \text{ἡλεήθη}$. Naturally, the Greek impf. may be employed, comp. Ps. 37 (38). 21 $\text{וְהָשִׁיבָה} = \text{ἀντέκειντό μοι}$ (comp. ⑤); 68 (69). 5 $\text{וְהָשִׁיבָה} = \text{ἐπέστρεφον}$ (comp. likewise ⑤); $\text{וְהָשִׁיבָה} = \text{ἐπεκράτουν}$ (so read for *ἐπεκρότουν*). The impf. is also translated by an aor. when it carries on a pf. as, for instance, Job 21. 10 $\text{וְהָשִׁיבָה} =$

ἐξέβαλε; Ps. 7. 16 יַפְעַל = ἐιργάσατο; 73 (74). 5 יָנַע = ἐγνώσθη; Prov. 7. 21 תְּרִיחֶנּוּ = ἔξωσεν; Isa. 30. 4 יָנִיעוּ = ἤγγισαν; 41. 2 יָחַן = ἔδωκε. Similarly the aorist renders an imperf. which in poetic style replaces a perf., comp. Job 10. 19 אֵיבַל (the force of the imperf. is clearly that of a perf. in the apodosis, verse 18 a in its interrogative form being the equivalent of a negative protasis = לֹא־יִלְיֶי מִרְחֶם הַצֹּחֲתִי; ⑤ carries on the interrogative; a's procedure is uncertain) = ἀπηνέχθην. The impf. frequentative or gnomic is rendered by the present: 4 Kings 9. 20 יִנְהַג = ἐλαύνει; Job 38. 18 יִשְׁכַּן = σκηνοῖ; Ps. 61 (62). 4 תְּהִי־תַחַי = ἐπιβουλεύετε; Prov. 1. 22 תִּהְיֶה־בִּי = ἀγαπάτε; 14. 33 תִּהְיֶה־עָלַי = γινώσκεται; 15. 18 יִנְהַג = ἐρεθίζει; Isa. 38. 12 יִבְצְעֵנִי = ἐκτέμνει με (contrast תִּשְׁלַח־נִי aorist a' σ' θ'). Jer. 27 (34). 17 תִּהְיֶה = γίνεταί stands on a different plane; the imperf. is conceived as describing the nascent event (Driver, § 26), hence the Greek present. The impf. expressive of a general truth and attached to a substantive with omission of the relative (Driver, § 34) is aptly rendered by a part., comp. Ps. 41 (42). 2 תִּהְיֶה־לִּי כֶּסֶף = ὡς αὐλῶν πεπρασιασμένος; Isa. 40. 15 יִשׁוּל כְּדָר = ὡς λεπτὸν (a' appar. pointed כְּדָר) βαλλόμενον (so according to one edition); Jer. 10. 9 יִבְרָא . . . כְּסָף = ἀργύριον . . . φερόμενον; Hos. 5. 13 יִרְבֵּי אֱלֹהִים = <πρὸς βασιλεία> δικασόμενον (a' apparently read יִרְבֵּי(י)); and again 10. 6 יִרְבֵּי אֱלֹהִים = <βασιλεῖ> δικάζοντι. Similarly, when the antecedent is implied: Ps. 90 (91). 6 יִשׁוּב מִצָּרִים = ἀπὸ δηγμοῦ δαιμονίζοντος = *a morsu insanientis*. The pt. likewise covers the impf. circumstantial: Ps. 34 (35). 8 יָדַע לֹא תְבוֹאֶהוּ שׂוֹאָה = <ἐπελθέτω αὐτῷ συμφορὰ> οὐ γινώσκοντι. Two asyndetic imperfects are brought into subordination: Job 10. 16 תִּתְפַּלֵּא בִּי וְתִשָּׁב = καὶ ἐπιστρέψας ἐθανάστωσας ἐν ἐμοί; similarly an imperf. asyndetically following upon a perf. is expressed by an infin.: Deut. 32. 29 יִשְׁכַּח־לִּי הַכְמוֹתִי = ὄφελον ἐσοφίσθησαν ἐπίστασθαι.

(d) The impf. after particles :

a. **אם** cum impf. = *ἐάν* cum coniunct. praes. sive aor. frequently (exx. for the present Gen. 4. 7 **אם-תִּיטִיב** = *ἐὰν ἀγαθύνῃς*; Isa. 21. 12 **אם-תִּבְעִיז** = *ἐὰν ἐπιζητήτε*).

β. **כִּי** cum impf. in a temporal sense = *ἐάν* cum coniunct. praes. sive aor., comp. Ex. 21. 18 **וְכִי יִרְבֶּן** = *〈καὶ ἐὰν〉 διαμάχωνται*; Deut. 24. 22 (20) **כִּי תִחַבֵּט** = *〈ἐὰν〉 ῥαβδύσῃς*. Or the temporal force may be expressed by a pt.: Job 5. 21 **יבוא כִּי מִשֹּׁר** *ἀπὸ προνομῆς ἐπερχομένων* (*α'* had in mind **יבוא מִשֹּׁר** *the usual aversion to personifying an inanimate object*; comp. the identical case Ps. 90 (91). 6 adduced above under (c)). On a different plane is the concessive force, comp. Jer. 50 (27), 11 **כִּי תִשְׁמְחוּ . . . וְתִצְהָלוּ** = *ὅτι ἐπεχάρητε . . . καὶ ἐχρημετίζετε* (the tenses exactly as in **וְ**; the pf. at the head of verse 12 is rendered in **וְ** by an aorist).

γ. **אֲשֶׁר** cum impf. Note Jer. 17. 7 **אֲשֶׁר יִבְכֶּה** = *ὁ πεποιθώς*.

δ. **לֵא** (**בֵּל**) cum impf. = *μή* cum coniunct. aor. comp. Ps. 9. 36 (10. 15) **בֵּל-תִּמְצֵא** = *μη εὕρεθῇ* (implying **תִּמְצֵא**); Jer. 11. 21 **וְלֹא תָמוּת** = *καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃς*.

ε. **עַד** cum imperf. = *ἕως ἄν* sive *ἕως οὖ* cum coniunct. aor., comp. Ps. 56 (57). 2 **עַד-יַעֲבֹר** = *ἕως ἄν παρέλθῃ*; 140 (141). 10 **עַד-אֲעֹבֹר** = *ἕως οὖ παρέλθω*.

ζ. **כִּיּ** cum imperf. = *μήποτε* cum coniunct. aor., comp. Ex. 19. 22 **כִּיּ-יִפְרֹץ** = *μήποτε διακόψῃ*; Ps. 27 (28). 1 **כִּיּ-תִחַשֵּׁה** = *μήποτε σιγήσῃς*.

η. **כִּיּ** (**בֵּי**) cum imperf. = *πρὶν* cum infin. aor.: 1 Kings 3. 3 **כִּיּ בָּטָרָם** = *πρὶν σβεσθήναι*; Jer. 38 (45). 10 **כִּיּ בָּטָרָם יָמוּת** = *πρὶν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν*. Similarly with perf. in the place of the imperf.: Ps. 89 (90). 2 **כִּיּ בָּטָרָם הָרִים יִלְדוּ** = *πρὶν ὄρη τεχθῇναι*.

(e) Cohortative and jussive. The cohort. is expressed

σατε; Isa. 55. 1 וְלִכְּבוֹ שְׁכַרְי = καὶ ἐλθόντες ἀγοράσατε. Abnormal is the use of the fut. for the Hebrew imp. Gen. 42. 16 הָאֶסְרִי = δεθήσεσθε (α' σ'); ⑥ has imper. ἀπάχθητε, but a remnant of the fut. may be found in the conflate (and corrupt) ἀπαχθηθησέσθαι n!—Job 37. 2 we find ἤκουσα ἀκοήν for שָׁמָעוּ שְׁמוֹנִי; apparently there is an error of transmission (θ' has ἄκουε ἀκοήν).

(h) The infin. absolute is rendered (a) by a part. or (b) by a verbal noun in the dat. Examples: (a) with pf.: 1 Kings 20. 6 לְשֹׂאֵל לְשֹׂאֵל = αἰτούμενος ἡτήσατο; 2 Kings 12. 14 לְמַצֵּי לְמַצֵּי = διασύρων διέσυρας; with an impf.: Num. 30. 13 וְאִם-הָפַר יָפַר = (καὶ) ἐὰν ἀκυρώων ἀκυρώσῃ; Ps. 131 (132). 15 אֲבִירָא אֲבִירָא = εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω; Isa. 56. 3 הַבְּרִיל יְבִרְלִי = διαχωρίζων διαχωρίσει; 61. 10 שִׁשִּׁי שִׁשִּׁי = χαίρων χαρήσομαι; Jer. 13. 17 וְדָמַעַתְּ דָּמַעַת = καὶ δακρύουσα δακρύσει; 39 (46). 18 מִלֵּט מִלֵּט = ῥυόμενος ῥύσομαί σε; 51 (28). 58 עֲרֵיעַר תַּחֲרַעַר = σαλευόμενον σαλευθήσεται; Hab. 2. 3 בָּא יָבֹא = ἐρχόμενος ἥξει (or ἐλεύσεται). (b) Lev. 13. 7 פֶּשַׁח תִּפְשֹׁחַ = ἐπιδώσει ἐπιδῶ; Deut. 31. 29 תִּשְׁחָח תִּשְׁחָח = διαφθορᾷ διαφθερεῖτε; Ps. 131 (132). 16 רָגַן רָגַן = αἰνέσει αἰνέσουσιν; Isa. 59. 11 הָגָה נְהַגָה = φθογγῇ φθεγξόμεθα; Jer. 6. 9 עוֹלֵל יְעוֹלֵל = καλάμη καλαμήσονται; 44 (51). 29 יָקִימוּ קוֹם = στάσει στήσονται; 49. 12 (29. 13) תִּתְקַח נִקָּה = καθαρισμῶ καθαρισθήσῃ.—When the infin. absol., in continuation of a preceding finite verb, appears as a substitute for the finite verb (GK., § 113. 4), a finite verb is used by the Greek translator: Job 15. 35 הָרָה... וַיֵּלֶד = συνέλαβε... καὶ ἔτεκεν; Jer. 32 (39). 44 יִקְנוּ וְכָתוּב... וְהָתוֹם וְהָעֵד = εἰς καιρὸν εὐρέσεως; 120 (121). 8 יִצְאָהּ וְיִבֹּאָהּ = ἐξοδόν σου καὶ εἰσοδόν σου; 131

(i) The infin. construct is occasionally expressed by a noun: 3 Kings 18. 36 בַּעֲלֹחַ = κατὰ ἀνάβασιν; Ps. 30 (31). 23 בְּחַפְזִי = ἐν θαμβήσει μου; 31 (32). 6 לְעַת מָצָא = εἰς καιρὸν εὐρέσεως; 120 (121). 8 יִצְאָהּ וְיִבֹּאָהּ = ἐξοδόν σου καὶ εἰσοδόν σου; 131

(132). 1 $\text{יְהִי־נָא} = \text{κακουχίας}$. Elsewhere the following methods are resorted to: (a) a finite verb is employed, so after prepositions which become temporal, modal, or final conjunctions in Greek: Ps. 33 (34). 1 $\text{יְהִי־נָא} = \text{ὅτε ἡλλοίωσε}$; Jer. 40 (47). 1 $\text{יְהִי־נָא} = \text{ὅτε ἔλαβεν}$.—Isa. 7. 2 $\text{נָא} = \text{ὥς σαλεύεται}$; 34. 4 $\text{נָא} = \text{ὥς ἀπορρεῖ}$; 3 Kings 21 (20). 12 $\text{נָא} = \text{ὥς ἤκουσεν}$.—Jer. 26 (33). 8 $\text{כִּבְלֵי־נָא} = \text{ἡνίκα συνετέλεσεν}$.—4 Kings 23. 24 $\text{נָא} = \text{ὅπως ἀναστήσῃ}$; Amos 1. 13 $\text{נָא} = \text{ὅπως ἐμπατούνωσι}$.—Num. 14. 33 $\text{עַד־נָא} (= \text{עַד־אֲשֶׁר יָמָו}) = \langle \xi\omega\varsigma \grave{\alpha}\nu \rangle \text{τελειωθῶσιν}$; Deut. 2. 14 $\text{עַד־נָא} (= \text{עַד־אֲשֶׁר תָּמוּ}) = \langle \xi\omega\varsigma \sigma\upsilon \rangle \text{ἐτελειώθη}$.—Comp. also Exod. 9. 18 $\text{נָא} = \dots \text{ἐθμελιώθη}$ (but it is uncertain whether נָא is infinitive, see Luzzatto *ad locum*). (b) in temporal constructions the conjunction and finite verb may after the manner of the freer translations be replaced by a participial construction, notably the genit. absol.: Isa. 30. 29 $\text{נִלְכָּד} \text{נָא} = \text{ἀγιαζομένης ἑορτῆς (α' σ', contrast θ' ὥς νῦν τοῦ ἀγιασθῆναι ἑορτῇν)}$; similarly with a nomen actionis in the place of the infin. cstr. Isa. 30. 25 $\text{נָא} = \text{ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀποκταμένου πολλοῦ}$ (note the literalism of the sing.!). Exod. 4. 10 $\text{נָא} = \text{ἀπὸ τότε λαλήσαντός (σου)}$; Deut. 11. 19 $\text{נָא} = \text{καθημένου} \dots \text{καὶ πορευομένου} \dots \text{καὶ κοιταζομένου καὶ διανισταμένου}$ (contrast ③ which adds σου, only that in the first two instances the pronoun goes both with the pt. and the noun (οἶκῳ, ὁδῳ)).—Origen, however, who followed α' (σ' θ') added σου sub ast, see the variants apud BM); Jer. 51 (28). 59 $\text{נָא} = \text{πορευομένου αὐτοῦ}$; Hos. 9. 12 $\text{נָא} = \text{ἐκκλιναντός μου}$. (c) A more literal rendering is נָא cum infin. = ἐν τῷ cum infin. praes. sive aor.: Gen. 36. 24 $\text{נָא} = \text{ἐν τῷ βόσκειν αὐτόν}$; Ps. 101 (102). 23 $\text{נָא} = \text{ἐν τῷ ἀθροίζεσθαι}$; Prov. 8. 27 $\text{נָא} = \text{ἐν τῷ ἀκριβάσειν}$; Ps. 21 (22). 25 $\text{נָא} = \text{καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀναβοῆσαι}$; similarly

27 (28). 2; Ezek. 17. 17 $\text{בְּשֹׁפֵט} = \epsilon\nu \tau\hat{\omega} \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\chi\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$. (d) לְ cum infin. nearly always = τοῦ cum inf. praes. sive aor.: 3 Kings 21 (20). 9 $\text{לְעֵשׂוֹר} = \tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$; 22. 49 $\text{לְלָכֶת} = \tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\theta\eta\gamma\eta\alpha\iota$; Ps. 30 (31). 3 $\text{לְהוֹשִׁיעַנִי} = \tau\omicron\upsilon \sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu \mu\epsilon$; 32 (33). 19 $\text{לְהַצִּיל} = \tau\omicron\upsilon \rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$; 90 (91). 11 $\text{לְמַרְדּוֹתַי} = \tau\omicron\upsilon \phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\alpha\iota \sigma\epsilon$; Eccles. 2. 2 $\text{לְהַכְנִיחַ} = \tau\omicron\upsilon \sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon \sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$; 4. 23 $\text{לְהִתְחַבֵּר} = \tau\omicron\upsilon \phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$; Isa. 50. 4 $\text{לְרַעַת} = \tau\omicron\upsilon \gamma\upsilon\omega\acute{\nu}\alpha\iota$, $\text{לְשָׁמֶעַת} = \tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$; Dan. 9. 24 $\text{וְלִכְבוֹדָם} \dots \text{וְלִתְהַלָּלָם} = \tau\omicron\upsilon \sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\alpha\iota \dots \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\sigma\alpha\iota \dots \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\xi\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. Occasionally we find $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ and inf.: Eccles. 4. 17 $\text{לְשָׁמֶעַת} = \acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$; also $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and a noun Ezek. 19. 14 $\text{לְמִשְׁוֵל} = \epsilon\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\nu$ and 30. 21 $\text{לְהַשְׁתָּחֲוֶה} = \epsilon\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$. When לְ cum infin. implies readiness to do an action (GK, § 114 i), the Greek translator uses a finite verb: Ps. 24 (25). 14 $\text{לְהוֹדִיעַם} = \gamma\upsilon\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$. Finally it is also rendered by a part. fut., comp. Joshua 10. 33 $\text{לְעֹרֹךְ} = \beta\omicron\sigma\eta\theta\eta\sigma\omega\nu$. Comp. also Ezek. 21. 11 (16) $\text{לְמַרְטֵר} = \eta\kappa\omicron\mu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu (= \text{לְמַרְטֵר}?)$.

(j) The part. is rendered by a part. of the present, aorist or perfect tense (with a preceding article for Hebrew הַ). Thus Gen. 49. 21 $\text{הַיֵּתֵן} = \delta \delta\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$; Ps. 149. 9 $\text{בְּתוֹב} = \gamma\epsilon\gamma\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$; Ps. 24. 12 $\text{הַיִּבֶן} = \delta \sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$; Eccles. 11. 5 $\text{יֹדֵעַ} = \epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$; Isa. 45. 9 $\text{רֵב} = \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\zeta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$; 53. 5 $\text{מְדַבֵּר} \dots \text{מְחַלֵּל} = \beta\epsilon\beta\eta\lambda\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma \dots \sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\tau\tau\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$; Jer. 20. 9 $\text{עֹצֵר} = \sigma\upsilon\nu\nu\epsilon\chi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$; Amos 6. 3 $\text{הַמְּנִידִים} = \omicron\acute{\iota} \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\epsilon\chi\omega\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota$. The part. pass. with an active signification or when denominative is properly rendered by a part. act., comp. 3 Kings 6. 4 $\text{שֹׁפְפִים} = \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ (combined with נִשְׁפָּה); Isa. 63. 1 $\text{הַדֹּרֵר} = \delta\iota\alpha\pi\acute{\rho}\epsilon\pi\omega\nu$. The part. in a circumstantial clause describing a concomitant action in the past is rendered by the imperf., comp. 3 Kings 20 (21). 12 $\text{וְהָיָה שְׁתָּה} = \kappa\alpha\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega\nu\nu\epsilon\nu$ (for the form see Thackeray, 120, foot-note); Job 2. 8 $\text{וְהָיָה יָשָׁב} = \langle \kappa\alpha\iota \rangle \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \langle \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\tau\omicron \rangle$; Jer. 37 (44). 4

נָפַחְתָּ נָפַח = εἰσεπορεύετο καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο. But elsewhere likewise the Hebrew pt. is expressed by a finite verb; thus, in accordance with the context, the past is expressed by the aor. or pf. and the pres. by the pres. Comp. Job 4. 11 אָבַר = ὤλετο; Ps. 32 (33). 7 פָּגַם = ἀπέθετο; Jer. 49. 14 (29. 15) שָׁלַח = ἀπεστάλη;—Job 20. 26 מָוֶן = ἀποκέκρυπται; Dan. 9. 26 גָּדַרְתָּ = τέτμηται;—1 Kings 28. 9 מִתְנַשֵּׁשׁ = <σύ> ἐγκρούεις; Eccles. 1. 5 שָׁאָה = εἰσπνεί; Isa. 52. 5 מְנַאֵץ = διασύρεται; Jer. 43. 3 מַסִּיתָ = ἐπισείει; in combination with עָוָה (= <ἐτι σύ>) Exod. 9. 2 מִתְנַשֵּׁשׁ = ἐπιλαμβάνη and ver. 17 מִסְתַּלֵּל = ἀντιποιῇ. In combination with הָיָה the pt. is rendered by an aor.: Jer. 26 (33). 18 הָיָה נָפַח = αὐτὸς ἐπροφήτευσεν. Here and there the part. is also rendered by an adjective (esp. a verbal adjunct. in -τός), comp. 3 Kings 6. 18, 29 מְסַבֵּר = περίγλυφα; Ps. 54 (55). 9 מִדֶּחַ = ἀπὸ πνεύματος λαίλαπῶδους; 117 (118). 23 נִפְלֵאָה = θαυμαστή; Prov. 10. 20 and 22. 1 נִבְהָרָה = ἐκλεκτός; Cant. 4. 2 מְתַאֲמֹת = διδουμοτόκοι; Jer. 10. 9 מְרַקֵּעַ = ἐλατόν. The part. is occasionally expressed by a noun, comp. Eccles. 2. 2 מְחַלְלֵי = πλάγησις; Ezek. 16. 6 מְלֵאִים = ἐμβολίσματα; 21. 20 (25) מְצִוֶּה = περιοχῆς; 23. 14 מְקַח = μίμημα; Dan. 9. 26 שְׂמֹמֹת = ἐρημώσεων; Zeph. 1. 18 נִבְהָלָה = κατασπουδασμόν; comp. also Job 37. 18 מְצַץ מְרַאֵי = ὡς ὄρασις συγχύσεως; Prov. 10. 5 מְבִישׁ = <υἱός> αἰσχύνης.

(k) As to the noun, it is generally rendered by a Greek noun, but may also correspond to a Greek adj. in the neuter, as, for instance, אֶתְרִית = ἔσχατον, בָּצָה = κάθυγρον, מִלֵּל = ἀκατέργαστον, מִמִּין = ζυμωτόν, מִשֶּׁן = ἀνθιμον, עֲלִילָה = ἐναλλακτικόν, מִן צִי = διψαλέον; and also to a part. neut. as, e.g., מְצַר = διανοίγον; מְלִיטָה = λείπον Exod. 10. 5; or part. perf. pass. neut., as מִתְשַׁכְּחִים = ἐσκοτισμένα γῆς Ps. 73 (74). 20; מִשְׁתַּחֲוִים = τὰ ἐγκαταλελειμμένα Jer. 48 (31). 32; מִתְעַנִּים =

μεμωκημένα Jer. 10. 15. The Hebrew noun is sometimes rendered also by an inf., thus עָתָה = *εἰσακούειν*; שָׁבַע = *ἐμπλησθῆναι*; שָׁבַל = *περινοῆσαι*; and with ל prefixed לְעָתָה = *παγιδευθῆναι* and לְעָתָהּ = *eis τὸ βοηθῆσαι μου*. A noun governing another noun in the genit. may be expressed attributively by an adj., comp. Ezek. 24. 7 צִיְחֵי־סֶלַע = *λείαν πέτρων*. יוֹגֵץ פֶּלֶא Isa. 9. 6 (5) is apparently combined with פֶּלֶא as accus. (= נִפְלְאָה עָצָה), hence *θαυμαστὸς σύμβουλος*. A noun may also correspond to an adj. with a noun understood, as, e.g., מִישׁוֹר and עֲרֶבָה = *ὁμαλή* (sc. γῆ); מָקָר = *αὐστηρός* (sc. οἶνος); עֵיִם = *αἴγεια*, שִׁחִינָה *λάθυνα* (sc. δέρματα); שֶׁלֶשׁ = *τρίτη* (sc. ἡμέρα); מַלְאָכָה = *ἀπόρορτος* (sc. λόγος). A noun in the accusative may be rendered by an adverb, comp. בָּטָח = *πεποιθότως* Deut. 12. 10; הָבֵל = *μάτην* Job 9. 29; יָשָׁר = *ὀρθῶς* Eccles. 12. 10; מָר = *πικρῶς* Isa. 33. 7; מִשְׁכִּיל = *ἐπιστημόνως* Ps. 46 (47). 8; עָתִידָהּ = *καιρίως* Deut. 32. 35; רִי = *κενῶς* Ps. 2. 1. A noun in the genitive is sometimes transl. by an adj., as מִקְשָׁה = *ἐλατήν* Exod. 37. 17; עוֹלָם = *αἰώνιος*; צָב = *κατασκεπαστός* (or *σκεπαστός*) Num. 7. 3; שָׁרָה = *ἄγιος* 4 Kings 4. 39; sometimes also by a part. as מְכַמֵּר = *ἡμφιβληστροειδής* Isa. 51. 20; אֲמוֹנוֹת = *πιστεύων* Prov. 28. 20; וְיִבְרִיחַ וְיִבְרִיחַ וְיִבְרִיחַ = *ὑπομένουτος καὶ συμπεπατημένου* Isa. 18. 7; שָׂרָה = *κατακεκαυμένον* Jer. 51 (28). 25; or by an adverb, comp. Jer. 14. 3 שָׁלוֹם אָמֵן = *ἀληθῶς εἰρήνην*.

Nouns of the type *ketil*, *katil* (*kattil*), *katul* are aptly rendered by a verbal adj. in -τός, comp. יָדִיר = *ἀγαπητός*, בָּכִיל = *ἀνόητος*, אֵלִיל = *ἐπίπλαστος*, בָּחִיר = *ἐπίλεκτος*, יָמִיר = *ἀλίκμητος*, בָּחִיר = *ἐκλεκτός* or *ἐπίλεκτος*; or by a part. pass. as גָּזִיר = *ἀφωρισμένος*, אֲדִיר = *σωζόμενος*, נִסִּיר and פָּקִיר = *καθεσταμένος*, נָשִׂיר = *ἐπηρμένος*, שָׂרִיר = *καταλειμμένος*, נָצִיר = *ἐστηλωμένος*. Note Prov. 27. 16 (α' σ' και οι λοιποι) *κεκρυμμένος βορέας άνεμος* / צָפֹנִיָּה צָפֹנִיָּה; it is not quite clear what α'

read (רָחַץ צָפוֹן רִיחַ?). Forms of the type *kattil* are rendered by the pt. act., comp. פָּרִיץ = διακόπτων (hence = פָּרִץ, פָּרִיץ = καταδυναστεύων (hence = פָּרִיץ). Similarly קָרַץ (*kattil*), comp. Prov. 12. 24 קָרַץ = συντεμνόντων. שָׁרַץ (*kattil*) is correctly denominated from שָׁרַץ θρίξ, hence τριχίων. The intransitive קָטַל (*kattil*) is transl. by a part. pass., comp. אָט = κεκλιμένος, קָט = τεθλασμένος, לָט = ἀραιούμενος; עָט = κεκραταιωμένος. Note also שָׁטַף = ἀντικείμενη, רָפַף = ἐμπτισσομένη, יָבַן = ὠφρυωμένος, יָעַן = ἐνέσκιρωμένος.

An instance where Aquila perhaps in a striving after extreme literalness failed to perceive the archaic case-ending *ī-* is afforded Isa. 56. 9 where קָטַל is rendered once ζῶον αὐτοῦ and another time τὰ ζῶα αὐτοῦ.

לָ when periphrastic of a genit. is expressed by the genit., comp. Gen. 36. 24 לָצֶבֶעוֹן = τοῦ Σεβεγών; Joshua 3. 12 לָשָׁבֶט (distributive) = τοῦ σκήπτρου; 12. 23 לָבִנְיָל = ἐθνὼν τῆς Γελεγέλ.

With reference to the noun it is also important to note that the abstract is often translated by a concrete and *vice versa*. Thus *concr. pro abstr.* are, for inst., דָּאָבָן נָפֶשׁ = ἐκλιμώσσουσα ψυχή Deut. 28. 65; קָבָלָהוֹת = κατάκοροι, יָשַׁע = σωτήρ, בָּלָיוֹן = τελουμένους, מְלָכִית = βασιλεῖς, מְלָכָה = βασιλεύς, עָרָב = βοηθός, רָעָב תַּחֲלִיטָא = ἀσθενούντες λιμῶ Jer. 14. 18. *Abstr. pro concr.*: מוֹשִׁיעַ = σωτηρία. But מְשַׁבֵּיל = σύνεσις and ἐπιστήμη is perfectly in order. Moreover, the abstr. sing. may be rendered by a pl., as אֲקָרִית = ἐγκατάλειμματα, קָרִיוֹן = συλλήψεις, קָרִי = ἔλαιοι, מְעָשֶׂה = ἔργα (Ps. 61 (62). 13 = 6), קָרָה = κρυπτά, תַּרְמִית סִנְעִית = ἐτοιμασίαι; and the abstr. pl. by a sing.: יָדִים = βλασφημία, דָּיִם = συζυγία and συναλλαγή, תַּרְמִית = ἐπαοιδή, פָּרִים = ἐξίλασμός, מְנֻמָּה = ἐνθύμημα, אֲפֹרֹסִי = ἀφροσύνη (Prov. 9. 6; comp. 6 (5) ס' θ' ט Saad. and Ibn Ezra second rendering), פְּתִיחוֹת = ἐπίλυσις,

צִרָה = θλίψις, שֶׁשְׁעִים = ἀπόλαυσις, תְּהַנִּיחַ = δέσις, תְּמַרְיָה = πικρασμός; but we also find the abstr. pl. rendered by a pl. as, for instance, מַאֲוִיִּם = ἐπιπόθηματα, מִיֶּשֶׁת = εὐθεία, תִּזְרָא = ἐπιφοβα, מַעֲלָלִים = ἐπιτήδευματα, תַּעֲלָלִים = ἐναλλάγματα.— The dual is mostly rendered by a sing., comp. אֶפְסִים = θυμός, מִאֲוִיִּם = ζυγός, עֶפְעָפִים = εἶδος, מִתְנַיִם = νῶτον, שְׁוֵלִים = ἀποληγμα; but also by a pl., comp. מִלְצִיָּה = δσφύες, מִלְקָחִים = λαβίδες. The sing. collective is mostly rendered by a pl., comp. בָּקָר = αἶγες, פְּרִי = καρποί, קְנִידִים = κνίδες, לָפֶשֶׁת = λάφυρα, comp. also מַעֲרָה = δάκρυα. But Hos. 8. 5 μόσχους σου certainly = עֲגֻלָּה / עֲגֻלָּה; possibly also Jer. 50. (27) יִי ὥσπερ μόσχοι χλόης = רֶשֶׁת / רֶשֶׁת / רֶשֶׁת. Conversely we find a pl. collective which is rendered by a sing. collect., comp. בְּגָדִים = ἱμάτιον, יִרְחִים = σελήνη, בְּסָמִים = ζέα, עֵיִם = λιθολογία, תְּלָלִים = ἐπιφυλλίς, תִּבְאָצָּה = στρατιά, שְׁעָרִים = κριθή, שְׂמֵרִים = τρύξ. The sing. of material is transl. by a pl., comp. בָּשָׂם = ἄρωματα, בָּשָׂר = σάρκες, מֶלֶךְ = ἄλεις, מַתָּה = ἄνθρακες, תְּבִי = ἄχυρα.

The adjective is often rendered by a part. as, e.g., אֶכְזָב = ἐκλείπον, אֶתְבָּה = ἐπηρμένον, מְשִׁימָה = ἐνωπλισμένοι, מְמַם = μεμιασμένος, נֶבְאָה = πεπληγμένον, עָתִיר = παρειασμένος, רָעַב = πεινῶν, שְׂבֹר = μεθύων, שְׁלִי = εὐθηνούν. Sometimes we also find the adj. (in a neuter sense) rendered by a noun, thus מְמַם = μιασμός, עֲקָלָה = διαπλοκαί, מְרָחִים = μακρυσμοί. In Prov. 11. 27 Aquila seems to have pointed שָׁחַר for שָׁחַר. Note also the rendering of מִי פָרַעַה = ζῆ Φαραώ Gen. 42. 15.

23. Under the head of lexical peculiarities the following (arranged alphabetically) deserve to be signalized:—אֶזָּה which is usually taken to mean a basin used in ritual is translated by α' πρόθυμα = a preparatory or preliminary sacrifice Exod. 24. 6 on which comp. *Rhein. Mus.*, LX, 475 f. (Deissmann) || אֶזָּה which is generally rendered 'band, army'

(from Aram. 𐤀𐤍𐤔 = wing, hence wing of army) is translated by *α' ἄγαλμα* = glory, delight, statue, an object of worship (comp. ἀγάλματα = 𐤀𐤔𐤁𐤏𐤓 𐤁 Isa. 21. 9) Ezek. 12. 14 which makes it not impossible that *α'* derived it from 𐤍𐤏𐤔 'embrace', comp. 𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤏𐤕 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤕 Sanhedrin 60 b || 𐤀𐤍𐤔 1 Kings 2. 36 is rendered by *συλλογή* = a gathering, collecting, hence *α'* derived it from 𐤍𐤏𐤔 = to gather, collect || 𐤀𐤍𐤔 Ps. 41 (42). 2 is combined with 𐤁𐤏 and rendered *αὐλὼν* = hollow way, comp. *σ' πεδία* (plains) for 𐤀𐤍𐤔 Ps. 28 (29). 9 (parallel to 𐤏𐤍𐤔; the meaning certainly fits the context admirably), and *α' 𐤀𐤍𐤔* = *αὐλὼν* Deut. 11. 30 and *πεδίων* Judges 9. 6, in the latter case in agreement with 𐤏 || 𐤀𐤍𐤔 is rendered Jer. 52. 15 *ὑποστήριγμα* = an underprop, comp. 𐤀𐤍𐤔 4 Kings 18. 16 = ἐστηριγμένα 𐤁 || 𐤀𐤍𐤔 = plummet Amos 7. 7 is translated *γάνωσις* (a brightening, shining), on which comp. Field *ad loc.*, n. 11 f. || 𐤀𐤍𐤔 = balsam-tree (BDB) or oak (König) is translated 2 Kings 5. 24 *φρούρησις* (watching, guarding) and 𐤀𐤍𐤔 = spring Job 38. 16 is likewise rendered *φρούρημα*, which proves that he derived them both from the same root (the biliteral 𐤏𐤍) [comp. Jerome on Mic. 7. 4 MABUCHA enim magis *πολιορκίαν* et *φρούρησιν*, id est *obsidionem* et *custodiam* . . . in Hebraeo sonat. Taylor *ad locum* rightly calls attention to Exod. 14. 3 where 𐤏 renders 𐤀𐤍𐤔 'coarctati sunt'. Note that Job 38. 16 *σ'* has *συναχὴ* as an equivalent of 𐤀𐤍𐤔. Perhaps the root was combined with 𐤏𐤍𐤔, a synonym of 𐤀𐤍𐤔, comp. *σ'* Ps. 87 (88). 9 *φρουρούμενον* = 𐤀𐤍𐤔. M] || 𐤀𐤍𐤔 = duration, world (from 𐤏𐤍 = abide, continue) is rendered throughout Psalms by *κατάδυσις* (*demersio, latebra*), comp. Syr. 𐤏𐤍 creep, sneak, slink, and talmudic 𐤏𐤍 hollow out || 𐤀𐤍𐤔 = violence, wrong Hab. 2. 17 is translated by *αἷμα* (blood), comp. Gen. 1. 31. 6 (on Gen. 6. 11): חמם זה שפיכות דמים

|| שֵׁשׁ = chaff Isa. 33. 11 is given the meaning of 'soot', αἰθάλη, according to Field's emendation || כָּבַרְתָּ הָאָרֶץ Gen. 35. 16 καθ' ὁδὸν τῆς γῆς, hence the כ is taken as the preposition, but the derivation still remains obscure, comp. Sa'adya who transl. الطريق ميل من المسافة and also takes the כ as prefixed, see תשובות רונש, 93 and שפת יתר, § 79, || קָפִים = rafter Heb. 2. 11 is translated by μάζα (Lat. massa), comp. Schleusner *s.v.* who quotes Hesych.: μάζα ἡ μεμαγμένη κόπρος || כָּפֶתוֹר meaning 'capital' is rendered Amos 9. 1 by οἰκοδόμημα (building) || כִּי אֶמִּילֵם Ps. 117 (118). 10 which is usually combined with מוֹל 'circumcise, cut off' is rendered ὅτι ἡμυνάμην αὐτοῦς (= ⑤) = because I warded them off, perhaps derived from מוֹל 'in front of' || מְשִׁיךְ = Job 28. 18 is rendered γλυκύ (sweet, delightful); it is difficult to believe that α' combined it with מַחֵק (see Schleusner *s.v.*) || נִחְיִים = nostrils Job 41. 12 is rendered by πύρωμα (a burning body), it is apparent that α' thought of חָרַר = 'be hot, burn' || מַתְּנָה = gift Eccles. 7. 8 (7) is made to correspond to εὐτονία (*vigor*), Schleusner correctly suggests that our translator combined the word with the root מַתַּן, comp. Arabic مَتَنَ 'be stout' and Hebrew מַתְּנִים || הִפְסִדְרוֹנָה Judges 3. 23 (s. Field) = <εἰς τὴν> παραστάδα (comp. ⑤ and σ'), see Moore's Commentary *ad locum* || צָהֵק = arrogant (of speech) is interpreted 1 Kings 2. 3 and Ps. 30 (31). 19 by μέταρσις (transplantation), hence combination with הִעָרִיק 'remove' || צִפְרִיהַ Ezek. 7. 7 = συστολή (contraction) || קָטַב = destruction Ps. 90 (91). 6 is translated by δηγμός (biting, gnawing pain) || רִנֵּעַ = moment is rendered Ps. 29 (30). 6 by ἀθροισμός (condensation) || תִּחַשׁ ἰάνθινος (violet-coloured) Exod. 25. 5 and Ezek. 16. 10, to which comp. טס בגוונין = ססגונה Shab. 28 a.

An interesting feature of Aquila is his recourse to

cognate Aramaic or to later Hebrew roots. Thus דָּבֹא Jer. 44 (51). 10 is rendered *ἐκαθαρίσθησαν*, comp. Aram. רָבִי = 'cleanse, purify' || נִלְאִיתִי הָבִיל שָׁפָה Jer. 6. 11 is translated *ἐκοπίασα ὅτι ἐξέχεα* which leads Field to believe that *a'* confused הָבִיל with Syr. ܠܡܥܝܢ, but it must be noted that *a'* is credited by the Syrohex. with a better reading which is in keeping with the Hebrew לֵאמֹר || הָרִי Gen. 40. 6 is rendered by *γῆρις* = finest meal, comp. talm. חִירְחָא 'white flour' (Gittin 56 a), see p. Yom ṭob 61 c (2, 6): חָרִי, so Palest. reading); similarly חִיר Esther 1. 6 ἀρίμων (Midr. Es. c. 2: 2: אִירִינִן comp. Aram. (but also Hebrew) חִיר = be white, see Anger, *De Akila*, p. 19 ff., also Krauss in Steinschneider's *Festschrift*, p. 154 f. || פָּאֲרִי Ps. 21 (22). 17 is translated ἡσχυναν, hence *a'* derived it from Syr. ܦܠܢ, late Hebrew כָּעַר = 'render ignominious', see the full discussion by Taylor, *Cairo Genizah Palimpsests*, 20 ff. || מִכְתָּב Deut. 10. 4 is rendered by *γραφεῖον* (pencil), hence he pointed it מִכְתָּב which in Mishnic Hebrew means 'a writing tool, pencil, stylus', comp. for example Kel. 13. 2 || פָּתָם = gold Isa. 13. 12 is rendered *σπίλωμα* (filth, dung), hence he combined it with late Hebrew פָּתָם = stain || מְתַלְהָמִים Prov. 26. 22 is rendered *γοητικοί* (beguiling), hence construed in the sense in which it occurs in Midrashic literature: 'flatterers, hypocritical sympathizers', comp. Sifre on Num. 11. 1 and on Deut. 1. 27 || נִצְבָּתָא = firmness Dan. 2. 41 is rendered *φυτόν* (plant), a sense in which it occurs in the Targum and Syriac, comp., for instance, ܬ to Job 14. 8 and Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, p. 2436 f. || פִּוְקָה 1 Kings 25. 31 which is usually taken to mean 'tottering, staggering' is rendered by *λυγμός* (spasmodic affection of the throat, hiccough), hence on a par with Arabic نَفَقَ 'to

hiccough' and Syr. ܦܠܦܠ = oscitation (Field), it is also used in the Talmud in the sense of 'lump, ball, swelling', comp. *Hullin* 134 b פיקה של גרנרת and *Nega'im* 10. 10 פיקה של צואר || לִפְנֵי 3 Kings 6. 17 = τῇ εὐσχολίᾳ (leisure), hence he combined it with לִפְנֵי (Aram. פְּנֵי = leisure) || שְׂדֵה וְשִׂדּוֹת Eccles. 2. 8 the meaning of which is unknown is translated by α' κυλίαιον καὶ κυλίαια = cup and cups (in the same sense also 𐤒, 𐤓, and 𐤔), hence it is not improbable that he derived it from the Aram. שִׂדָּא = to cast, sprinkle, pour.

CHAPTER III

AQUILA'S EXEGESIS

24. AQUILA'S translation, while eulogized by the Fathers of the Synagogue on account of its adherence to Jewish tradition,⁷⁷ was condemned, and severely criticized by the Church Fathers for its tendency to obviate christological interpretations of certain passages through a literal and oftentimes etymologizing rendering. Aquila's first biographer says of his version οὐκ ὀρθῶ λογισμῶ χρησάμενος, ἀλλ' ὅπως διαστρέψῃ τινα τῶν ῥητῶν, ἐνσκήψας τῇ τῶν οὐβ' ἑρμηνείᾳ ἵνα τὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς μεμαρτυρημένα ἄλλως ἐκδώσει.⁷⁸ Jerome calls him *Iudaeus*,⁷⁹ and Euthymius, speaking of his baptism and subsequent proselytism, says of his version: *Hic itaque iratus Christianis, multa pervertit*.⁸⁰ Bar Hebraeus, too, credits Aquila with a *Iudaica mens*,⁸¹ while Theodoret stamps as viciousness (κακουργία) his rendering of אֱלֹהֵי יְבוּר by ἰσχυρὸς δυνατός.⁸² Special emphasis

⁷⁷ Comp. Pal. Meg. 71 c, l. 10: תירגם : חייא בר בא : ירמיה בשם ר' אליעזר ולפני ר' יהושע וקילסו אותו ואמרו לו עקילם הגר התורה לפני ר' אליעזר ולפני ר' יהושע וקילסו אותו ואמרו לו יפית מבני אדם. This is in agreement with what Origen says of him (*ep. ad African.* 2): φιλοτιμότερον πεπιστευμένος παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἑρμηνευκέναι τὴν γραφὴν· ἧ μάλιστα εἰώθασιν οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον χρῆσθαι, ὥς πάντων μᾶλλον ἐπιτετευγμένῃ. That the popularity of α' among the Jews was still in the ascendant in the fourth and fifth centuries is attested by Jerome on Ezek. 3. 5, and Augustine, *de civit. Dei*, xv. 23, also by Justinian's *novell.* 146: *at vero ii qui Graeca lingua legunt LXX interpretum utuntur translatione . . . verum . . . licentiam concedimus etiam Aquilae versione utendi.*

⁷⁸ Epiphanius, *de mens. et pond.*, 15.

⁷⁹ *Praef. ad Dan.* and *Praef. in Job.* Comp. also Hexapla on Hab. 3. 13.

⁸⁰ *Praef. in Psal.*

⁸¹ Comp. Hexapla on Ps. 26 (27). 6, n. 23.

⁸² Quoted by Field, *Prolegomena*, xx.

is laid on his rendering of חַיָּיִם by $\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ instead of $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ in passages like Dan. 9. 26 and of חַיָּיִם ⁸³ Isa. 7. 14 by $\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\varsigma$ as against $\mu\alpha\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ of the Septuagint.⁸⁴

25. The fact is, however, that when we deal with such a literal translator as Aquila it is quite difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion concerning his exegesis. Any criterion might fail in view of his etymologizing process which leaves us in doubt whether, in deviating in a certain point from the generally accepted meaning, he intended to voice his own views or those of the Synagogue to which he belonged, or else he simply adhered to the letter for its own sake. It is this circumstance no doubt that accounts for the rather mild verdicts of Origen ($\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota\ \mu\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \text{'}\text{Εβραίοις, διόπερ οὐδὲ παρὰ τῷ } \text{'Ακύλα,}$)⁸⁵ and Jerome (*iamdudum cum voluminibus Hebraeorum editionem Aquilae confero, ne quid forsitan propter odium Christi synagoga mutaverit, et, ut amicae menti fatear, quae ad nostram fidem pertineant roborandam plura reperio*).⁸⁶ Nevertheless, just because it is more or less free from subjectivity, Aquila's version 'certainly marks the beginning of thorough exegesis of the Old Testament'⁸⁷ if by exegesis we really mean an attempt to get at the true meaning of the Hebrew Scriptures. We must not overlook the conditions that brought forth Aquila's

⁸³ Comp. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, II⁴, 613, n. 12. This is another of α' 's translations which Field characterizes by the word $\epsilon\pi\nu\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ (*Prolegomena*, xxii), for he likewise renders חַיָּיִם by $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\phi\epsilon\iota\nu$ Lev. 8. 10 *et al.*, and חַיָּיִם by $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\mu\mu\alpha$ Lev. 21. 12.

⁸⁴ On this crucial point in the controversy between Jews and Christians comp. Swete's *Introduction to the O. T. in Greek*, p. 30.—Aquila's rendering here must have been particularly distasteful to the Christian Church, since elsewhere (Gen. 24. 43) the same word is translated by $\alpha\pi\acute{o}\kappa\rho\upsilon\phi\omicron\varsigma$, while $\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\varsigma$ is also used for חַיָּיִם Deut. 22. 28.

⁸⁵ *Epist. ad Afric.*, 3.

⁸⁶ *Epist. ad Marcellam*.

⁸⁷ Burkitt, *JQR.*, X (1898), 211.

translation and the literalist's importance as a barrier against the unsound methods of dogmatic and allegorical interpretation which culminated in Philo and disregarded the literal sense. Aquila stemmed the tide of philosophical exposition through his method of translating *verbatim*, with absolute adherence to the original text, thus paving the way for the modern historical and philological methods of interpretation. It is in this sense therefore that Aquila becomes important in the history of Biblical exegesis.

26. In the following pages an attempt is made to record all the important phases of Aquila's interpretation as exemplified in the extant fragments of his version.

27. In the first place mention must be made of differences arising out of the reading of ש (or ס) for ש and *vice versa*. Thus Gen. 26. 20 עֶשֶׂק is rendered *συκοφαντία*, and הִתְעַשְׂקוּ *ἐσυκοφάντησαν*, which, by a comparison with all the passages where this word otherwise occurs, yields עֶשֶׂק and הִתְעַשְׂקוּ. In this interpretation א' stands alone among all the other versions which derive it from the NH עֶסֶק, so the commentators.—26. 33 שְׁבַע and שְׁבַע are both rendered *πλησμονή* which at once suggests שְׁבַע (comp. Ezek. 16. 49) and שְׁבַע. This interpretation is supported by ס' and ש; ט *ῥκος* points to (ח) שְׁבַע.—Job 12. 23 מִשְׁנִיָּא: *πλανῶν* leads to מִשְׁנִיָּא, so θ', ש, also Rashi under יִשְׁמְרוּם.—22. 2 יִסְכֵּן: *κατασκηνώσει* points to יִסְכֵּן in which interpretation א' and θ' stand alone.—Eccles. 2. 25 יְחִישׁ: *φέρεται* implies יְחִישׁ = יְחִישׁ, so also ס' and Syrohex.; ט, θ' and ש appear to have read יִשְׁתָּה.—Isa. 22. 15 הִסְכִּין: *τὸν σκηνοῦντα* points to הִסְכִּין in which א' is supported by ס' only (*τὸν σκηνοποιῶντα*).—65. 16 לְשִׁבְעָה or לְשִׁבְעָה: *εἰς κόρον α' ס' θ'* [so in the *Auctarium*; but r. *ῥκον* with Procop. and Jerome adduced by Field *ad locum*. M], *εἰς πλησμονήν* ט, all go back to

לְשָׁבֵר.—66. 9 אֲשָׁבִיר: προσδοκίαν δώσω goes back to אֲשָׁבִיר cf. שָׁבַר 'wait', 'hope' in which *a'* follows 𐤁 (so also 𐤅).—Jer. 5. 24 שְׁבַעַת: πλησμονάς *a'* (second edition) 𐤂', πληροσεως 𐤁, plenitudinem 𐤅, all read שְׁבַעַת s. שְׁבַעַת; but, according to Jerome, the first edition in agreement with *σ'* read ἐβδομάδας, comp. Syrohex. in the margin quoted by Field.—23. 39 נִשְׂא אֶתְּחִי אֶתְּחִי for which only ὑμᾶς λήμματι is preserved, but this is sufficient to prove that *a'* read וְנִשְׂאִי or וְנִשְׂא(א) and נִשְׂא; he is in agreement with 𐤁 *σ'* 𐤅 𐤅.

28. Next in order are renderings resting on a pointing different from that of our masoretic text, of which quite numerous instances occur in Aquila's version: Gen. 49. 6 שׂוּר: τεῖχος implies שׂוּר, so *σ'* 𐤅 𐤅 𐤅 𐤅; cf. Ps. 17 (18). 30 שׂוּר τεῖχος 𐤁 *σ'* 𐤂', τεῖχοςμα *a'*.—Exod. 5. 16 וְעַתָּה וְעַתָּה: καὶ ἁμαρτία λαφ̄ σου = וְעַתָּה וְעַתָּה, i.e. the first word was taken as the noun (so also *σ'* and *θ'*) and a construction was effected as well as could be done (cf. *θ'* εἰς τὸν λαόν σου; *σ'*, on the other hand, pointed וְעַתָּה וְעַתָּה); 𐤁, on the contrary, supports the traditional pointing, וְעַתָּה = וְעַתָּה; whether 𐤁 read וְעַתָּה (cf. Jer. 37 (44). 17) it is not easy to determine.—28. 11 ἐσφυγμένους points perhaps to מְשַׁבְּצוֹת inst. of מְשַׁבְּצוֹת, so *σ'* *θ'* 𐤅 𐤅, comp. verse 20.—A similar variation is involved in 39. 6 (36. 13) where συνεσφυγμένους is used for מְשַׁבְּצוֹת. It should be borne in mind that the noun מְשַׁבְּצוֹת is rendered by *a'* σφυγκτήρ, comp. Exod. 28. 13 and 39. 16 (36. 23).—Lev. 21. 23 מְקַדְּשִׁי (τὸ ἁγίασμα ᾧ ν^ῃ for τὸ ὄνομα ν^ῃ) for מְשַׁבְּצִי.—Deut. 6. 20 ἡ μαρτυρία impl. הָעֵדוּת for הָעֵדוּת (contrast 𐤁 *σ'* *θ'*).—10. 11 לֹא קִים = ἀνάστηθι σαντῶ, *a'* accordingly pointed לֹא in which he stands alone.—22. 9 ἐλγμόν points to מְלֹאִים instead of מְלֹאִים; peculiar to *a'*.—32. 29 לוֹ = οὐκ according to Pitra and BM (from the margin of M); this would imply לוֹ on a par with the Sept.; Field, however, will be right in

attributing $\sigma\kappa \ \epsilon\nu\acute{o}\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ (v^m *sine nomine*!) to a glossator, the genuine α' rendering being preserved elsewhere (Nobil., Procop., Syrohex. acc. to Masius): $\nu\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$ (or $\epsilon\nu\nu\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$) would be foreign to α' 's diction as an equivalent of חכם , whereas $\sigma\sigma\phi\lambda\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ is perfectly in order, see Index.—Judges 5. 22 מְדַהֲרוֹת: $\epsilon\phi\sigma\sigma\mu\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu$, appar. preceded by ἰππων , hence α' construed מְדַהֲרוֹת סוּס (agst. the accents) in a genit. relation (for the second דַּהֲרוֹת see chapter IV).—9. 6 עַם-אֱלֹן מִצֵּב = $\epsilon\pi\iota \ \pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon \ \sigma\tau\eta\lambda\acute{o}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, hence מִצֵּב, so ט (στάσεως) and ט (קמתא); but in all likelihood α' merely identified the two, so also Jewish commentators (Rashi, Kimḥi).—1 Kings 15. 32 מַעְרֶנֶת = $\alpha\pi\delta \ \tau\rho\upsilon\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, therefore מַעְרֶנֶת or מַעְרֶנֶת; the word is combined with עָרָן likewise by σ' ($\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$) and ט (מפניקא); ט $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\nu$, according to Lagarde, presupposes מַעְרֶנֶת.—19. 13, 16 בְּבִיר הָעָיִם = $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu \ \pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\omicron\varsigma \dots$, hence בְּבִיר for בְּבִיר, which is by no means worse than the reading בְּבִר (liver) of ט. But also another, more appropriate reading is credited to α' for which comp. Field, note.—2 Kings 1. 19 הָעֵצִי = $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota$ with which agrees the reading of the Itala: *considera*; they both connected it with the Aramaic יַעֲיִב, while ט (στήλωσον) and ט (איתעתרתן) combined it with the Hebrew נָצַב or יָצַב, pointing הָעֵצִי.—3. 26 מְבֹרַח הַפֶּרֶה $\alpha\pi\delta \ \tau\omicron\upsilon \ \lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\omicron\upsilon \ \tau\eta\varsigma \ \alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, hence פֶּרֶה.—3 Kings 7. 7 (44) יָפֶן was prob. pointed יָפֶן (comp. Jer. 22. 14 where יָפֶן equally stands for יָפֶן, cf. the parallel וַיִּשְׁוֶה) = $\kappa\alpha\iota \ \acute{\omega}\rho\acute{o}\phi\omega\sigma\epsilon\nu$, so ט and ס.—9. 25 וְהַקְטִיר אֹתוֹ was read אֹתוֹ (וְהַקְטִיר) or וְהַקְטִיר = $\kappa\alpha\iota \ \epsilon\theta\nu\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha \ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$.—11. 36 and 15. 4 נִיר was pointed נִיר(י) = $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\chi\nu\omicron\nu$, so σ' ש ש, and among commentators Kimḥi.—4 Kings 9. 32 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \ \epsilon\acute{\iota} \ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}$; = אֹתִי מִי אֹתִי, so ט $\theta' \ \epsilon'$.—11. 6 מָפַח = $\alpha\pi\delta \ \delta\iota\alpha\phi\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \ \lambda$; Field suggests מִשְׁחַח, but more likely they read מָפַח, deriving it from נָפַח = to pull or tear away. The same etymology underlies the Targumic

מִשְׁתַּחֲוִי, only that ט combined it with the late Hebrew הִיפָּח sc. הִסַּח הִדַּע; comp. also IĠ and Kīmī.—Job 4. 2 דָּבָר perh. implies דָּבָר = λαλήσαι, so θ' S.—5. 5 וְאֶל־מַצְנִים יִתְחַוּהוּ = πρὸς ἐνόπλων ἀρθήσεται, α' apparently pointed מַצְנִים deriving it from צָנָן (from which צָנָה = shield), cf. מַגְנִים from מָגָן, so σ' ט U and Rashi.—*ibid.* צָמִים was pointed צָמִים (= צָמָאִים) = διψῶντες, so σ' S U, also IE under א".—12. 17 λάφυρα leads to לָלֶשׁ instead of לָשׁוּל, the meaning being 'as prey', so U.—21. 24 ποτίσει points to יִשְׁקֶה instead of יִשְׁקֶה.—28. 15 οὐ δώσει yields לֹא־יִתֵּן for לֹא־יִתֵּן, so θ'.—33. 16 α' goes with U and S in reading יִתֵּן = πλήξει αὐτούς for masoretic יִתֵּן.—34. 6 אֶבְרָהָם = ψευδμα α' θ', who probably pointed אֶבְרָהָם and construed it as a noun with the same meaning as אֶבְרָהָם. Cf. Jer. 15. 18 where מִים אֶבְרָהָם (against the accents!) is rendered by U ὡς ὕδωρ ψευδές, while α' and σ' have ὡς ὕδωρ ἐκλείπον.—Ps. 2. 7 אֶל־חַיִּים = ισχυροῦ ἀκριβασμόν, α' apparently pointed אֶל, so also θ' ט' S and Jer., comp. also an anonymous Tanna in Sofrim 4. 8 (אֶסְפְּרָה אֶל חַק הָרִי זֶה קָדֵשׁ); difficult as the Hebrew construction will be, α' θ' (cf. also ט') prove that the received order of words lay before them; U likewise appears to have pointed אֶל which it renders κύριος, but the genit. is transposed. See further below on Ps. 83 (84). 8.—3. 5 καὶ ἐπακούσεται μου shows that α' ε' ט' pointed יִשְׁמְעֵנִי for יִשְׁמְעֵנִי.—4. 3 בְּבוֹרֵי was pointed בְּבוֹרֵי = οἱ ἐνδοξοὶ μου.—9. 14 יִתְחַוּהוּ רֵאֵה־עֲנִי = εἰδε, so Jerome, and among modern commentators Baethgen, Nowack and Duhm.—9. 36 (10. 15) בְּלִתְמַצָּא תִּדְרֹשׁ־רִשְׁעוֹ = ἐκζητηθήσεται ἡ ἀσέβεια αὐτοῦ ἵνα μὴ εὐρεθῇ αὐτός; at the first blush the assumption presents itself that α' (and so U σ' θ' S) pointed תִּדְרֹשׁ and תִּמְצָא, cf. Graetz; but רִשְׁע being masculine, the supposition is more plausible that the versions merely

read יֵאָמַר = *ἐρεῖ*.—109 (110). 3 μετὰ σοῦ points to עִמָּךְ instead of עִיךְ, so ⑤ *ἐ*.—115. 2 (116. 11) διάψευσμα yields קִבֹּב inst. of קִבֹּב, so Jerome.—138 (139). 15 ἔγχευ was pointed עִצְמִי = *ὁστὰ μου*.—146 (147). 1 ἐγκώμιον yields וְמִרְהָ for וְמִרְהָ, so ⑤, *σ'*, Ἄλλος.—Prov. 6. 24 ἐταίρου points to רֵעַ inst. of רֵעַ, so ⑤ *ὁ* *ὕπανδρον*.—7. 18 ἡδὴ ἦν was pointed הָדִים = *μεθυσθῶμεν τιθῶν α' σ' θ'*. Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 398, believes that this was the original.—8. 30 τιθηνομένη points to אָמִין instead of אָמִין, so Rashi; all the others derive it from אָמִין = firm.—10. 29 *α'* goes with all the other versions in reading לְהָם (τῷ ἀπλῷ) for לְהָם.—13. 13 ἱσλῆς was pointed יִשְׁלֶם = *ἐιρηνεύει* by *α' σ' ἐ*, cp. also ⑤.—14. 4 ἀβίος was probably pointed בְּרִיבִים (part. pass. of אָבִים) = *φατνιάζεται ἐκλεκτόν*, cf. IE (א"ב) and R L b G; similarly *θ'*, who in addition reads אֶלְפִים בְּאִין for בְּאִין.—20. 25 ἡγεῖται, *α'* apparently pointed קִדְשׁ = *ἡγιασμένος*; he construes קִדְשׁ as subject and מִקְדָּשׁ as object.—25. 11 λαλῶν ῥῆμα yields דְּבַר דְּבַר for דְּבַר דְּבַר, so *σ' θ' Σ*.—27. 16 ἀνεμος *α' σ' καὶ οἱ λ'*, hence they pointed צָפֹן or צָפֹן, so ⑤.—30. 4 (καὶ) κατήνεγκεν points to וְיָרַד (hiph.) inst. of וְיָרַד (kal), so also *σ'*.—31. 5 πένητος yields עָנִי, so *θ' ἐ* and *Τ*.—Eccles. 1. 6 κύκλον, hence קָבֶל (inf.) or קָבֶל(י), this in view of the evidence of Syrohex. that *α'* translated the first by a part.—8. 4 ἐλάλησε points to דְּבַר דְּבַר inst. of דְּבַר דְּבַר; cp. λαλεῖ in codd. of ⑤.—10. 6 ἔδωκε τὸν ἄφρονα, hence *α'* pointed בְּנֵן הַפֶּקֶל; in the vocalization of the second word he is supported by ⑤ *Σ Τ* and *σ'*; as to the first, cp. *Τ* יְהִי. IE explains סָבֶל as שֵׁם הַתָּאֵר of the type יִלְךְ.—12. 10 καὶ συνέγραψεν points to וְכָתוּב for וְכָתוּב, so *Τ Σ Ψ*; ⑤ supports MT.—Cant. 3. 6 ἡμῶν implies מִמְּחֶרֶת = *ἀπὸ θυμιάματος*.—Isa. 3. 12 ἡδὴ which was read by *Σ* and *Ψ* implies הָדִים in ⑤ and *α'* (*ἀπαιτοῦντες*), *θ'* (*δανεισται*), and *Τ* מְרִי חֹבָא.—

7. 11 *eis* ἄδην points to שְׁאֵלָה, so $\sigma' \theta' \mathfrak{U}$; \mathfrak{G} likewise prob. pointed שְׁאֵלָה (*eis* βάθος).—9. 6 (5), 7 (6) τὸ μέτρον implies מִשְׁרָה for מִשְׁרָה; \mathfrak{T} אוריתא and $\sigma' \theta' \eta$ παιδεία der. it from יסר; comp. Lagarde's note on this word in *Semitica*, I, p. 16.—16. 10 οὐκ αἰνέσει implies לֹא־יִרְנֶן inst. of לֹא־יִרְנֶן.—23. 18 ἰλμכפּה: עֲתִיק: (*kal*) *eis* ἔσθησιν μετάρσεως, α' apparently pointed עֲתִיק construed as a noun in the literal sense of transplantation.—24. 16 וְאִמֶּר implies וְאִמֶּר (pf. c. 1 cons.) = *kal* ἐρεῖ $\alpha' \theta'$; \mathfrak{G} seems to have read likewise (*kal* ἐροῦσι); σ' like \mathfrak{T} and \mathfrak{S} reads the pf. with simple 1.—26. 19 *kal* αἰνέσουσιν points to וְרִנְנִי for וְרִנְנִי, so $\sigma' \theta'$; \mathfrak{G} also may have pointed like the Three or else by way of freedom adjusted the form to יחיו and יקומו in order to avoid the apostrophe.—28. 16 θεμελιῶν $\alpha' \sigma' \theta'$ points to יִסֵּד instead of יִסֵּד; likewise $\mathfrak{G} \mathfrak{T} \mathfrak{S}$.—v. 29 הַנְּדִיל . . . הַפְּלֵא = θαυμαστώσαι . . . μεγαλῦναι, hence הַפְּלֵא and הַנְּדִיל in which α' stands alone.—30. 8 *eis* μαρτύριον suggests לְעֵד for לְעֵד, so $\sigma' \theta' \mathfrak{T} \mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{U}$; similarly, Zeph. 3. 8 where α' is supported by $\mathfrak{G} \mathfrak{T} \mathfrak{S}$.—v. 22 ῥύπος suggests צֶמֶס for צֶמֶס, so \mathfrak{G} , θ' .—v. 25 μεγαλυνόμενος points to מְגַדֵּלִים for מְגַדֵּלִים, so \mathfrak{T} and σ' ; likewise 33. 18 where α' is supported also by \mathfrak{G} and θ' .—33. 9 ἐξετινάχθη $\alpha' \sigma' \theta'$ points to נָעַר, niph. of נָעַר, inst. of נָעַר. This form of the niph. is found in *Hullin* 51 b, though Rashi reads נָנָה.—38. 12 רָעִי was pointed רָעִי = ἐταῖροί μου, so θ' ; the other versions, among them \mathfrak{T} , agree with MT (but read the plural רָעִים).—53. 5 βεβηλωμένος points to מְחַלֵּל (profaned) for מְחַלֵּל (pierced).—57. 10 οὐκ ἐλιτάνευσας implies חֲלִית for חֲלִית, so \mathfrak{S} .—58. 12 *kal* καλέσει = וְקָרָא instead of וְקָרָא, so θ' .—60. 16 וְשָׂדַח was pointed וְשָׂדַח = *kal* μασθόν by $\alpha' \sigma' \theta'$; likewise 66. 11 where מִשֵּׁר was pointed מִשֵּׁר.—63. 16 ἀγχιστεῦσαι (or ἀγχλστευσον) implies וְאֶלְנִי (imp.) inst. of וְאֶלְנִי, so \mathfrak{G} .—64. 1 (63. 19) לֹא for לֹא is implied by οὐκ, so $\sigma' \theta'$, and κατέρρευσαν points to נָגַל for

נָזַל (unless the dageš is *d. forte affectuosum*, or, as IG expresses himself, فهو من اجل الوقف لاّتهم كثيرا ما يشددون على الوقف ما لا وجه التشديد فيه Judges 5. 7 and notes that in Arabic likewise the pausal accent effects artificial gemination), so α' σ' θ' ; in this sense also Θ ($\tauακήσονται$) and Σ .—v. 6 (5) בְּבָנֵי עֲדִים = $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omicron\nu\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$, hence α' read עֲדִים.—Jer. 5. 28 λόγους μου implies דְּבָרִי for דְּבָרִי, so α' σ' θ' and Ψ , but this is a bad construction unless we assume the reading לָרַע for רָע; Θ omits it.—6. 4 ἡγίασαν points to קִדְּשׁוּ inst. of קִדְּשׁוּ.—v. 27 ἐν λαοῖς ισχυροῖς = בְּעַמִּי בְּעַמִּי inst. of בְּעַמִּי; the pl. constr. is found also in Θ .—9. 1 וְעֵינִי inst. of וְעֵינִי with most versions.—10. 6 and 7 πόθεν ὁμοῖός σοι = כְּמוֹן מֵאֵין as against MT מֵאֵין, so θ' , comp. 30. 7 כְּמוֹן.—v. 19 ἀρρώστημά μου = (') חֲלִי (MT חֲלִי), so α' σ' τ Σ Ψ .—12. 13 ἐκληρουόμεσαν = נִחְלוּ (MT נִחְלוּ), so α' , σ' from Syrohex., Ψ .—13. 23 τὰ κακά Θ τὰ πονηρά α' , hence they read הָרַע for הָרַע.—17. 16 ἀπὸ κακίας implies מְרָעָה for מְרָעָה, so σ' and Σ with prefix 'ב.—18. 2 דְּבָרִי for דְּבָרִי with θ' .—20. 17 הָרַת was construed as a noun ($\kappa\upsilon\eta\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ = conception), hence read הָרַת, comp. ZAW., XVI, 81.—31 (38). 6 καλέσατε α' σ' points to קָרְאוּ inst. of קָרְאוּ.—34 (41). 18 לִפְנֵי implies לִפְנֵי = ἐνώπιον.—36 (43). 15 ἐπίστρεψον שָׁב (MT שָׁב), so Θ freely πάλιν and τ חֵיב. According to Field α' 's second edition had κάθισον (based on Syrohex.).—38 (45). 22 הַמְבַעֵי implies הַמְבַעֵי = κατέδυσαν, so Θ σ' Ψ .—46 (26). 20 ἐγκεντρίζων = קָרַן, so α' σ' and Ψ .—48 (31). 4 ἀκουτίσατε = הַשְׁמִיעֵי (MT has the pf.), so Θ , σ' accord. to Syrohex.—49. 16 (29. 17) α' and σ' seem to have read שְׁכֵנִי for שְׁכֵנִי and תַּפְשִׁי for תַּפְשִׁי ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\kappa\eta\nu\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$. . . ἐπιλαμβανόμενους).—49. 19 (29. 20) אֲרִיָּעָה = אֲרִיָּעָה for אֲרִיָּעָה ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\pi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omega$ αὐτόν).—49. 30 (30. 8) ταχύνατε = הַעֲמִיקוּ inst. of הַעֲמִיקוּ (but prob. the latter was intended as imperative), so α' σ'

supported by ⑤ 5.—51 (28). 13 אָמַח would imply אָמַח = ἀλήθεια (so ⑤) if we trust Codd. 86, 88; but accord. to Syrohex. *a'* agreed with MT: אָמַח.—Ezek. 1. 7 עָנַל was probably read עָנַל (ה) = στρογγυλον, so ④.—7. 7 ἐπιδοξότης = הָ (MT הָ), *a'* θ'.—16. 8 (καιρὸς) μαστῶν = אָמַח *a'* θ', but in sec. ed. הָ = συναλλαγῆς.—v. 34 וּנְהָ impl. וּנְהָ = πόρνη, so *a'* θ'.—v. 50 εἶδες impl. רָאִיתִי for רָאִיתִי, so *a'* σ' θ' ⑤.—17. 6 καρπούς suggests פְּרוֹת, the mishnic pl. of פֶּרִי, hence *a'* read פְּאוֹת for פְּאוֹת or פְּרָאוֹת for פְּרָאוֹת (accord. to Baer's text).—20. 4 πρὸς αὐτοὺς implies אָמַח for אָמַח (*a'* always renders אָמַח meaning *cum* by πρὸς with an acc.).—21. 13 (18) ἡρέυνησεν impl. בָּחַ, similarly θ' though in a different sense.—v. 21 (26) παρατάξαι (or πατάξαι) impl. מָלַל for the pf. מָלַל, so *a'* σ' θ', also ⑤.—23. 21 συζύγους σου = הָ inst. of הָ, so ④. According to Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 396 ff., *a'* would have retained the original (הָ) in all the other places where he differs from MT in the word הָ; while here he changed it purposely to avoid profanity.—24. 4 πλήρης implies מָלַל for מָלַל, so *a'* θ'.—v. 12 ἔχθρα points to רָבַת inst. of רָבַת, in which *a'* stands alone.—27. 24 καὶ κέδρος points to וְאָרְזִים for וְאָרְזִים.—Hos. 8. 10 καὶ λιτανεύουσιν yields וְיָחַל for וְיָחַל.—9. 13 ἀνωφελές = אָמַח, MT אָמַח.—Amos 5. 26 συσκισμούς = סָבוֹת inst. of סָבוֹת; ⑤, σ', and possibly also 5 and ⑤ read סָבוֹת.—Jonah 2. 9 מַשְׁפָּרִים impl. מַשְׁפָּרִים = ἀπὸ φυλασσόντων.—Mic. 2. 6 οὐ καταλήψῃ (= יִשָּׁג) inst. of יִשָּׁג, so ④ and Jewish commentators; similarly 6. 14 where καὶ καταλήψῃ can only correspond to וְיָחַל (MT וְיָחַל); also here *a'* is supported by Jewish tradition.—2. 7 *a'* read הָאָמַח for הָאָמַח and עָפוֹת for עָפוֹת.—Nahum 1. 8 ἀπὸ ἀνισταμένων yields מְקוֹמָה = מְקוֹמָיו (comp. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, p. 18 ff.) while MT has מְקוֹמָה; most of the other versions read מְקוֹמָיו, which gives better sense.—Hab. 2. 15

ἐξ ἐπιρρίψεως (Jer.: *de emissione*) could well correspond to מִפְּסָיִם (Job 14. 19 in this sense; probably also θ' construed מִפְּסָיִם in this way: ἀπὸ χύσεως.—3. 2 ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν corresponds to בְּקִרְבִּי, likewise ט, MT בְּקִרְבִּי.—Zach. 11. 7 σχόλισμα points to חֲבָלִים for חֲבָלִים, so ט ס' ש and ש.—v. 13 ὑπερμεγέθης corresponds to אֲדִיר, hence א' read אֲדִיר for אֲדִיר.—14. 5 ἐμπραχθήσεται = וְנִסְתָּם inst. of וְנִסְתָּם, so ט ט and οἱ λοιποὶ (= the reading of the Orientals, cp. Norzi).—v. 20 מְצִלָּה was read מְצִלָּה = βυθόν.—Mal. 2. 3 אֶת־הַיָּרֵעַ is rendered by σὺν τῷ βραχίονι, hence א' read אֶת־הַיָּרֵעַ.

It should be noted that there are in addition many cases of different vocalization involved in the change of ו consecutive to ו copulative and *vice versa*, but it was thought advisable not to include them here.

29. Here and there Aquila divides the words in a manner different from MT; naturally the exegesis differs. Thus Ps. 9. 1 עֲלִמּוֹת א' combines to עֲלִמּוֹת = νεανιότητος (comp. 45 (46). 1 where עֲלִמּוֹת is rendered by νεανιστήτων); with Aquila go most of the versions, ט alone = MT.—44 (45). 3 יְפִי־יָתִיר is broken up into יְפִי־יָתִיר = κάλλει ἐκαλλιώθης (or ἐκαλλωπίσθης), so ט ס' ε' ש ש Jer.—Cant. 7. 6 (7) בְּחַעֲנֻגִּים is divided into בַּח עֲנֻגִּים = θυγάτηρ τρυφῶν, so ש.—Eccles. 7. 30 (8. 1) מִי בָּהֶחָדָם is divided to read מִי בָּהֶחָדָם = τίς ὧδε σοφός.—Isa. 2. 20 לְחַפֵּר פִּירוֹת, see above, note 52.—54. 9 בִּי מִי נָח was read בִּי מִי נָח = ὡς αἱ ἡμέραι Νῶε, so ס' θ' ט ש ש.—Jer. 15. 11 אֶזְרוּ was construed בִּי רָעָה בִּי אֶזְרוּ = ὅτι πονηρὰ ὅτι τότε.

30. Aquila's exegesis may also be studied in words which though remaining unchanged yield a different meaning than that generally accepted. Thus Gen. 30. 11 נֶגֶד = ἐνζωνία, a word used by א' for נָדִיר, hence he took it in the sense of 'troop' not 'fortune', the latter is found in ט and ש, also Rashi, while the former is adopted by Ibn Ezra: טעם נד נדוד;

49. 3 רָאִשִׁית אֹזִי = κεφάλαιον λύπης μου, hence der. from אָן = trouble, grief, so σ' **U**; v. 5 מְרִתְיָהֶם = ἀνασκαφαλ (αὐτῶν), der. from כָּרָה = to dig, so IE under א"י; v. 14 מִשְׁפָּחִים = κλήρων (lots, estates), so **T** תְּחֻמֵּי and σ' μεταίχμιων; similarly, Judges 5. 16; Exod. 25. 4 תֹּלַעַת שָׁנִי = σκώληκος διάφορον, hence he der. שָׁנִי (scarlet) from שָׁנָה = change, be different; similarly, 28. 5 and 35. 23, 35; Deut. 29. 18 (17) רָשׁ 'venom' is rendered by κεφαλή, likewise 32. 33; 32. 2 שְׁעִירֵם 'rain' is translated by τριχιδντα 'hairy' and v. 17 שְׁעָרֵם = ἐτριχίαν αὐτούς, both therefore der. from שָׁעַר 'to be hairy'; 1 Kings 17. 18 עֲרֶבְתָּם 'their pledge' is rendered by σύμμιξιν αὐτῶν, hence derived from עָרַב 'to mix'; Job 3. 5 יִגְאָלוּהוּ = μολύναι (αὐτήν), der. from גָּאָל = to stain, defile, so probably **T** יַמְנִנִּי (moisten), Rashi and IE לְבָלוּךְ, and **S** 'cover', with which contrast **U**, σ' and θ' who take it in the sense of 'redeem'; 30. 12 אָיִר is rendered by ἐπιβλυσμός as if it were אֶרֶב 'cloud' (comp. Gen. 2. 6 in Field), so also Prov. 1. 26, while in Ezek. 35. 6 it is rendered rightly θλίψις; Ps. 34 (35). 20 רָנְעִי אֶרְצִי = ἀθρόα γῆς, hence א' took it in the sense of רָנַע 'second, moment' inst. of רָנַע 'quiet', **U** probably read רָנְנִי; 64 (65). 14 פֶּר 'corn' is made to correspond to ἐκλεκτός, chosen; 79 (80). 12 קִצְרִיָּה = θερισμὸν αὐτῆς, construed as קִצִּיר 'harvest' inst. of 'boughs'; 90 (91). 6 יָשִׁיר = δαυμονίζοντος, combined with יָשָׁר 'demon', so also IE under א"י; Prov. 12. 26 יָתֵר = περισσεύων, similarly **T** מִבְּמֵן הַבְּרִיָּה, hence derived from יָתֵר, instead of תָּוֵר, likewise Ibn Ezra; 20. 2 מְתַעֲבֵר = ὑπερβαίνων α' σ' θ', construed as hithp. of עָבַר 'pass', comp. Deut. 3. 26 where הִתְעַבֵּר = ὑπερτιθέναι; 27. 6 נִעְתָּרוֹת = ἱκετικά (fit for suppliants), hence der. from עָתַר 'to pray, supplicate' inst. of עָתַר 'to be abundant'; 31. 9 בִּישׁוֹר = ἀνδρεία (manliness) with reference to בָּשָׂר 'proper' and בְּשָׂרוֹן; Eccles. 1. 14: 2. 11: 6. 9

and רָעִיּוֹן 1. 17 are der. from רָעָה 'pasture' and translated νομή; Cant. 5. 13 עֶבֶר = ἐπὶ λεκτός (or ἐκλεκτός), so חִירָא ב; Isa. 14. 19 בְּנִצֵּר = ὡς λῶρ, which according to Jer. (in Field's note) means *tabes, paedor, sanies*, Nestle suggests (*ZAW.*, XXIV, 127 ff.) talmudic נִצֵּל, but it is hardly necessary, since נָצַר has the same meaning in the Talmud as נִצֵּל, comp. Pal. Šeb. 35 c: אפילו נפלים מה טעמא ונצורי ישראל להשיב; ונצירי ישראל להשיב; 18. 7 בְּנִצֵּר = ὑπομένοντος, so Jer. *expectantem*, der. from קוה = to hope; 28. 27 בְּתָרִין = ἐν συντέμνοντι, hence תָּרִין was construed as a part. pass. of תָּרַן with active sense, comp. Prov. 12. 24; 30. 23 מִקְנֶיךָ = ἡ κτήσις σου, in the sense of קָנִין 'acquisition' not 'cattle'; 39. 2 אֶת־בֵּית בְּנֵי = τὸν οἶκον τῶν ἀρομάτων, hence taken in the sense of נִבְאָת 'spice', so Rashi; Jer. 10. 17 בְּנֶעְתָּךְ 'bundle, pack' is rendered τὴν ἐπιτροπήν σου for which Field suggests ἐντροπήν = shame, humiliation, in which sense it occurs in talmudic-midrashic literature, so Men. ben Saruk quoted by Rashi, Iḡ, Kimḥi; 14. 14 אֶלִּיל = σκελισμός (snare); 48 (31). 30 בְּדִי (his boastings) is transl. by ἐξαίρετα, hence identified with בְּדִים 'members', comp. Ezek. 9. 2, 11 and Dan. 10. 5; 51 (28). 2 וְרִים was taken in the sense of winnowers or scatterers = λικμητάς by both *a'* and *σ'*, so also T; 52. 23 רִיחָה meaning 'on the sides' = ἀνημμέναι, hung up, fastened; Ezek. 21. 19 (24) בָּרָא = κεντῶσαν, where read κεντοῦσαν, comp. Field, note, and Swete's Septuagint where Q^{ms} has: *σ' χεῖρα κεντουσα*. If then this reading is common to both *a'* and *σ'*, which is not impossible, they probably construed בָּרָא as a participle and κεντεῖν (prick, stab) in the sense of cutting down or destroying, comp. 23. 47 וְבָרָא אֶתְהֶן בְּחִבּוּתָם where U likewise has κατακέντει κτλ.; 25. 6 בְּכָל־שְׂאֵמֶךָ = ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διαθέσει σου = with all thy disposition (θ' read שאתך); 27. 24 בְּנִיּוֹ בְּרוּמִים

= ἐν μαγώοις συγκειμένοις (put together); 40. 43 שְׁפָתַיִם = ἐπιστάσεις (first edition; from שָׁפַת, comp. 24. 3 שָׁפַת & ἐπίσθη-
σον); Hos. 9. 8 יָקוּשׁ = ἐσκωλωμένη, full of snares; Amos 7. 1
יָגִי is rendered by γάζα (treasure), confused with יָגִי; Zach.
4. 7 הִשְׁאֵוֹת is der. from שוה 'be equal' and made to cor-
respond to ἐξίσωσις (equalization); 12. 5 לִי אֶמְצָה = καρτέρησόν
μοι, constr. as an imper. instead of a noun. It must also be
mentioned that נָחַה 'dwelling' is often confused with נָאִה
'beautiful', so is נָבַל 'foolish' combined with נָבַל 'sink,
languish, wither'.

31. In the preceding I have tried to illustrate Aquila's departure from the accepted vocalization, punctuation, and interpretation of single words of the masoretic text. In the following I intend to discuss his method of exegesis as exemplified in phrases and sentences which sometimes receive a singular treatment and yield a sense different than that transmitted to us by tradition.

Gen. 3. 16 הַשְׂקָתָהּ = συνάφεια (Jer. *societas*) is a free rendering and is probably due to some midrashic interpretation with reference to conjugal union and marital relation. A midrashic meaning perhaps underlies likewise Θ's ἀπο-
στροφή, comp. Ber. r. *ad loc.*, ed. Theodor, p. 191 (חֲשׂוֹבֵי לחֲשׂוֹקָהּ אִישׁךְ לחֲשׂוֹקְךָ חֲשׂוֹבֵי לחֲשׂוֹקָהּ אִישׁךְ), and also Midrash Lekah Tob, ed. Buber, p. 27 (חֲשׂוֹבֵי לחֲשׂוֹקָהּ אִישׁךְ). Hence Nestle (*Marginalien und Materialien*, p. 6) is hardly justified in suggesting הַשְׂקָתָהּ for Θ in this place, nor Ball (Genesis in *SBOT.*) in doing it in all the places where it occurs. As to ὁρμή of σ', it probably also goes back to a midrashic interpretation, comp. Frankel, *Einfluss*, p. 10.

Ibid., 4. 7 שְׂאֵת אִם-תִּיטֵב הָלֵא = (οὐκ) ἐὰν ἀγαθύνῃς, ἀρέσεις = if thou doest well, thou wilt please; this is a satisfactory rendering, שְׂאֵת being taken as the apodosis in the sense of

שָׁמַיִם פָּנִים; in this interpretation *a'* is supported by most versions, particularly *θ'* *Σ* and *U*, and commentators, cf. especially IE: אַם עֲשִׂית טוֹב חֶשֶׁא פִּינִיךְ. *Θ*'s rendering of the whole phrase is based on consonantal variations, see Margolis, *ZAW.*, XXVII (1907), 249 f.

Ibid., 14. 3 and 8 עֲמֶק הַשָּׂדִים = . . . τὼν πρινεώνων as quoted by Jerome and restored by Lagarde (*Hieronymi quaestiones hebraicae in libro Geneseos*, p. 23) and Field (note, *ad loc.*). Πρινεών or πρινών is an ilex-grove (*locus ilicibus consitus* in Field). With *a'* goes the Midrash (Gen. 1., ed. Theodor, p. 410): שָׂדִים שְׁחֵה מִגְדֵּל סְרִינִין (see Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, IV, 362); on the other hand, *θ'* τῶν ἀκτῶν (*amoena nemora*) goes with *Ⲯ* פֶּרְדִּסְיָא cp. *σ'* ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῆς ἀκτῆς בְּגִזְעֵינָן Gen. 2. 15, similarly *Ⲯ* מִיֶּשֶׁר *Ⲯ* חֲקִלְיָא, cp. the alternative in the Midrash (*l. c.*) שַׁעֲשֵׁי שָׂדִים שָׂדִים.

Ibid., 22. 2 אֲרָץ הַפְּרִיָּה = . . . τῇν καταφανῇ, *σ'* τῆς ὀπτασίας, *Θ* τῇν ὑψηλήν. Comp. Mid. Tanhuma on Gen., ed. Buber, p. 112: יֵנְאִי אֹמֵר מַה הוּא מוֹרִיָּה? מָקוֹם שֶׁהָאֹרֶה: יֵנְאִי לְעוֹלָם.

Exod. 19. 22 for הַכֹּהֲנִים, according to the larger Cambridge Septuagint, *a'* wrote οἱ πρεσβύτεροι instead of the usual οἱ ἱερεῖς, which is the reading of *Θ* and the other ancient versions. It is clear that *a'* smoothed over the anachronism (the priests mentioned before their institution, Exod. 28) by his rendering 'elders'; the rabbis for the same reason make of them the 'firstborn' (Zebahim 115 b; Mekilta, *ad loc.*). Contrast Wiener, *Pentateuchal Studies*, 230; Troelstra, *De naam Gods in den Pentateuch*, 17. Curiously enough, in 2 Kings 8. 18 (sons of David!) *a'* (and, acc. to Barhebr. also *σ'* and ὁ ἐβραῖος) has ἱερεῖς, while *Θ* makes of them ἀυλάρχαι and *σ'* (acc. to cod. 243) σχολάζοντες; cp.

20. 26 Ⓢ σ' and ἄλλος· ἱερεύς and 3 Kings 4. 5 α' σ' ἱερεύς (omitted by Ⓢ); cp. also 1 Chron. 18. 17 הראשנים ליר המלך!

Lev. 8. 8 אֶת־הָאֵרִים וְאֶת־הַתְּמִים = τοὺς φωτισμοὺς καὶ τὰς τελειώσεις, in which most of the minor versions coincide. For a similar interpretation, comp. Yoma 73 b : אורים שמאירין את דבריהן תומים שמשלימין את דבריהן, and again Pal. Yoma VII end, 44 c : שהן מאירין לישראל ותומים שהן מתימין לפניהם. את הרך. Contrast Ⓢ: τὴν δῆλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, and comp. hereon Frankel, *Einfluss*, 100 f.

Job 18. 14 בְּלֹהוֹת לְמֶלֶךְ יִתְעַזְּרֶהוּ = καὶ ἐπιβήσεται αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνυπαρξία = and there will set upon him the King's non-existence. In the first place ἀνυπαρξία for בְּלֹהוֹת (so also α' σ' 27. 20, cp. ἀνύπαρκτος σ' 24. 17) suggests that it was etymologically connected with בֹּל 'not' (בְּלֹהוֹת was prob. pronounced in Aramaic fashion בְּלֹהוֹת), as may be proved by the fact that ἀνύπαρκτοι is employed by σ' elsewhere for לֹא־הָמָּה (Prov. 19. 7) and אֵלִילִים (Ps. 95 (96). 5, combined with אֵל) and ἀνυπαρξία for מִבְּלִי־לוֹ sine nomine Job 18. 15. Then the construction בְּלֹהוֹת לְמֶלֶךְ = לְמֶלֶךְ בְּלֹהוֹת in the sense of בְּלֹהוֹת (ה) לְמֶלֶךְ is interesting.

Ibid., 30. 12 עַל־יְמִין פָּרְחָח יָקִימוּ = ἐπὶ δεξιῶν βλαστῶντος ἀνέστησαν = upon the right (hand) of the sprout they rise. Here α' read יְמִין as a constr. st. to פָּרְחָח and made the subj. impersonal. In this interpretation he is followed by θ', but opposed by Ⓢ and Jewish commentators. As to פָּרְחָח, cp. Saadya עכרש = a kind of thorn, and IĠ under יש מי שפרש.

Ps. 2. 11 נִשְׁקָדְבָר = καταφιλήσατε ἐκλεκτῶς = kiss purely, i. e. worship in purity; so also σ', Jerome, and Rashi. This interpretation may be considered as an attempt to avoid the christological translation of בָּר = son; but it is remarkable that Jewish commentators like IE, Kī., and even

Maimonides felt no difficulty in accepting this interpretation.

31 (32). 7. פִּלֵּט תִּסְבְּבֵנִי רַנִּי = αἰνεσίς μου, διασώζων περι-
κυκλώσεις με; א' seems to have read רַנִּי (my praise, saving
thou wilt surround me). A similar interpretation, including
the disregard of the accents, is also found in 6: τὸ ἀγαλλίαμά
μου, λύτρωσαί με ἀπὸ τῶν κυκλωσάντων με; while Jer. with his
laus mea salvans, circumdabis me comes nearest to א'.
רַנִּי thus becomes a parallel to לִי פִתְרִי (which א' renders
ἀποκρυφή μοι) while פִּלֵּט is taken as the infin. absol.

67 (68). 32. מִנִּי מַצְרִים יֵאָחֲזוּ חֲשָׁמַיִם = οἷσουσιν ἐσπευσμένως
ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. Jer., too, renders חֲשָׁמַיִם by *velociter*. This led
many commentators to assume that the text originally
read מִנִּי (חֲשָׁ or חֲשָׁם) dittographed and then מ added).
But aside from the fact that *πρέσβεις* of 6 and *legati* of 7
speak against it we must also consider that Aquila here,
and hence also Jerome, is supported by a Midrash which
interprets the passage to mean חֲשָׁם וּמוֹנוֹיִם לַהֲתַגִּיר (*Midr.*
Teh., ed. Buber, p. 320). This example should be added
to those in § 11.

68 (69). 4. בָּלוּ עֵינֵי מִיחֵל לְאַלְהֵי 4 = ἐτελέσθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί
μου περιμένοντες τὸν θεόν (μου). א' (and so σ') apparently
substantiate the masoretic pointing מִיחֵל against מִיחֵל pre-
supposed by 6 and 7.

92 (93). 3. יִשְׁאוּ נְהָרוֹת דְּבָרִים 3 = ἐπήρθη ποταμῶν βάθη αὐτῶν.
The passive construction was apparently adopted so as not
to ascribe an action to the (personified) rivers. The genit.
ποταμῶν anticipates *αὐτῶν*.

119 (120). 5. מִשְׁפַּחַת מִצְרַיִם = προσηλύτευσα ἐν μακροσμφ. In
the same sense, though following a different construction,
also 6 and σ'. These versions apparently failing to
recognize in מִשְׁפַּחַת the name of a people (so mediaeval

θανμαστὸς σύμβουλος, ἰσχυρὸς δυνατός. That *a'* read מַשְׁרָה was already stated above (§ 28), comp. also Lagarde, *Semitica*, I, 16 f. The rendering of אֵל גִּבּוֹר by ἰσχυρὸς δυνατός has been criticized by Theodoret, though he is followed in it by both *σ'* and *θ'*. This rendering, as Field rightly states (*Prolegomena*, p. xx), agrees with *a'*'s style generally and it was hardly right to style it 'wickedness'.

25. 8 בְּלֵעַ הַמּוֹת לְנֶצַח = καταποντίσει τὸν θάνατον εἰς νῆκος. *σ'* likewise construes המות as object, the subject being אֲרֵנִי יְהוָה of the following phrase. So also Rashi. *ט*, on the contrary, takes המות as subject, so also Sa'adya and Ibn Ezra.

38. 11-12 דוֹרִי חָרַל = ἐπαύσατο γενεά μου. The two words are connected by all the Greek versions which at the same time read חָרַל (so *ט* and *θ'* ἐξέλιπεν); פסק points likewise to חרל; *ט* *quietis* also implies חרל. Jewish commentators explain it as חלר by metathesis (comp. *Kimḥi* among others), and this view has been adopted by modern scholars. How *a'* formed a pause with the constr. יוֹשְׁבֵי it is hard to understand; possibly he read a word before חרל specifying κατοικούντων or else he read יוֹשְׁבֵי חָרַל: יוֹשְׁבֵי חָרַל דוֹרִי.

53. 5 מִחֹלָל מִפְּשָׁעֵינוּ = [καὶ] αὐτὸς βεβηλωμένος ἀπὸ ἁθροισμῶν ἡμῶν. Quite so *ט*: דָּאֲתַחַל בְּחוּבָא with reference to the Temple. But *ט* has ἐτραυματίσθη 'wounded, pierced' and likewise most Jewish commentators and all modern exegetes derive it from חלל = pierce. Undoubtedly Aquila as well as the Targum sought to tone down the christological application.

Jer. 6. 18 יָדְעִי עֲרָה אֶת־אִשְׁרִי בָם = καὶ γυνῶτε μαρτυρίαν τῇν οὖσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς; *a'* therefore takes עֲרָה in the sense of עֲרִית; as to בָם he apparently construes it as referring to the

people of Israel. Aquila's reading forms the basis for Giesebrecht's emendation to ורעו דעה, which, however, fails to account for the part. אַח. ⑤ καὶ οἱ ποιμαίνοντες τὰ ποιμένα αὐτῶν points to עֲרִיִּהֶם וְרַעִי, while אַח אֲשֶׁר בָּם is omitted altogether.

34 (41). 18 לִפְנֵי הָעֵגֶל = ἐνώπιον τοῦ μόσχου; hence *a'* read לִפְנֵי disregarding the accent; contrast ⑤ κατὰ πρόσωπόν μου and ④ קרמי.

48 (31). 30 עֲבָרְתוּ וְלֹא־בָּנוּ בְּדָיו = ἡ μῆνις αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὕτως τὰ ἐξάίρετα αὐτοῦ; οὕτως is probably an error of transmission for ου(χ) ουτως; the transposition of the accent is supported by ⑤ ③ ④ which in addition read עֲבָרְתוּ for עֲבָרְתוּ; בְּדָיו is rendered etymologically and derived from בָּרַד = be separate.

Ezek. 2. 10 וְהָיָה וְהָיָה קִינִים אֵלֶיהָ וְכָתִיב אֵלֶיהָ (καὶ) γεγραμμένον ἦν ἐν' αὐτοῦ κτίσις καὶ ἀντίβλησις καὶ ἔσται; *a'* construes קִינִים in the sense of קִינִין, deriving it from קָנָה = to buy, possess, while וְהָיָה is der. from הָיָה = to be; for this interpretation there is no analogy in the versions nor in the commentaries.

32. To sum up Aquila's exegesis, it is safe to say that he leans mostly on Jewish tradition as manifested in Targum, Midrash, Talmud, and developed in the works of Sa'adya, Kimḥi, Ibn Ezra, Rashi, &c. Where he seems to stand alone it is probably due to the fact that the traditions in question have not been preserved. The most frequent grouping among the versions is *a'* ④ ⑤, while *θ'* vacillates between this group and the Septuagint, bearing out the contention of scholars that he was simply a reviser of the Alexandrine version and not an independent translator like *a'* (comp. Swete, *Introduction*, p. 43, and Schürer, *Geschichte*⁴, III, 440). Symmachus more frequently goes with the above group, but now and then he follows his own

way or that of the Septuagint. As to the relation of a' to \mathfrak{G} , it is evident that the former diverges as far as possible from the latter, proving once more that his version was intended as an antidote to the older Greek version.

(To be continued.)